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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 October 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

ALIA'S MESSAGE TO HUMOR MAGAZINE

AU041218 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 25 Aug 85 p 1

[Greetings of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party  
Comrade Ramiz Alia to the editorial staff of HOSTENI]

[Text] Dear comrades, 40 years ago, when the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha decided that the weekly magazine HOSTENI should be added to our press, it had been only a few months since the people's state was established. A new epoch had just started. As Marx has stated, the people prefer to part from the past, laughing.

Today HOSTENI is 40 years old. On the occasion of this anniversary celebration in the name of the Central Committee of our Workers Party, I send heartfelt greetings to the editorial staff, journalists, writers, caricaturists, painters and other collaborators of the magazine and wish them new successes.

The publication of the humorous and political organ HOSTENI is a marked event of our socialist realism in the press and literature. Its emergence reflects the undisputed force and superiority of the new socialist manifestations, rules, and norms in the life of society and in the consciousness of our people regarding everything that was regressive, backward and reactionary.

Depending on the rich tradition of our people's humor, on the achievements of democratic satirists and in particular of partisan humor, HOSTENI became an effective resource of our party in communist education and the construction of the new order. In HOSTENI are reflected the struggles of the popular masses led by the party to unrelentingly advance on the road of socialism, discarding and powerfully striking at the old that pulls one back.

In the satirical leaflets and cartoons, published in this review, there is treated the gigantic struggle which our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha carried out against revisionism and foreign reaction. Its varied examples of these themes have become known and won prizes at international competitions.

The magazine HOSTENI is read with pleasure by all. Being a valued tribune of satirico-humoristic creativity, it has attracted to itself the best humorous writers and cartoonists and has inspired and brought to light new talents in this field. This has been a valued contribution in the colorful development of journalism and of our literature.

HOSTENI, while powerfully attacking with party spirit everything that is alien in the healthy organism of society, has given our people the sharp arm of humor and satire in suppressing, in our class struggle, the resistance of relics from the past, in correcting our shortcomings, in fighting all alien concepts, practices and manifestations.

The development of our socialist society is unrelenting. It is progressing at a rapid pace in all fields. The unrestrained activities of the popular masses, led by the wisdom of the party in the socialist construction of the country, swiftly overtake norms and efficiency in production, work methods and organization, concepts and mentalities that no longer are up to date. As for appearances of backwardness, the magazine HOSTENI should tackle them at the outset and fight them with all available means so they can be stopped. Thus, humor and satire become more efficient ways to impart news, and to inspire progress, and everything that is beneficial to society. A healthy humor helps people's optimism and mobilizes them in the implementation of plans, which is the main front of our struggle and of our work.

You at HOSTENI should make the main task of the magazine the struggle against the incompatible alien manifestations of bureaucratism and liberalism. Against these dangerous enemies of our society, as in the past, you should struggle and argue passionately, as the party, the people, and Comrade Enver did.

The party is convinced that you will make greater efforts to study more deeply the manifestations of life, sharpen your observation of shortcomings and weaknesses, and raise higher your artistic values. Thus, you will be able to make a greater contribution, so that journalism and the humoristic literature of socialist realism and progress will go hand in hand with all types of art. It is necessary that you become a bulwark against schematic creations, stereotyped and without content, that vulgarize and trivialize the daily struggle of our society against negative alien manifestations.

I wish HOSTENI to become an ever dearer and more useful tribune of the workers.

First secretary of the Central Committee of the Labor Party of Albania,  
Ramiz Alia

CSO: 2100/56

ALBANIA

LATE FRG WRITER'S INTEREST IN COUNTRY RECALLED

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 21 Jul 85 p 14

[Article by Ismail Kadare: "Respect for Heinrich Boll"]

[Text] Heinrich Boll, the most distinguished West German writer after World War II and one of the greatest contemporary European writers, died last week. For a long time his works, especially his novels and short stories, have been translated and are known in many countries of the world. Permeated with an intensive substance and filled with concern, his works--the product of the time--have echoed some of the most poignant problems of present mankind, such as the revival of revanchism, the threat to life by the forces of reaction and destruction and aspirations for social justice.

Heinrich Boll was born in Cologne in 1917. He belonged to that unfortunate generation which, as soon as it reached the age of 20, was sent by Nazism as cannon fodder to the most bloody war in the history of mankind. The chaos of this war, seen with the eyes of the tormented, and its horror, barbarism and tragedy were pictured by young Boll in his first works, such as the collection of short stories "Traveler, If You Come to Spa...", or the novel "Adam, Where Art Thou?". The dust of trenches and bandages with iodine and blood will be turned over and over many times as a nightmare in his later works, accompanied by long and serious questions such as: Who were the culprits of this unimaginable butchery? Can it be repeated? Could we struggle to stop it? The motives for the guilt of every one and for the collective guilt for causing the tragedy and for killing the awareness, which are seen in great collective dimensions, are present in the path of the great German writer. And those are not problems born in his office, but they are the problems of life, whose agitations continue to raise storms and to stir up political passions in the present reality. Their most vivid act is the misfortune of the symbolic visit which American President Reagan made recently to the graves of the SS at Bitburg and the reaction that it caused among the people.

A member of the "47 Group" of progressive West German writers who, as soon as they emerged from the Nazi inferno, were looking for new ways to develop Germany, Boll treated in his works many problems of German social life in the period after the war. His novels--"The Clown" and especially ["The Lost Honor of Catherine Blum"]--are thorough analyses of the present reality in the West, where shine and powder cannot hide the deep spiritual crisis, whose spasms are felt in entire society today.

It is obvious that Heinrich Boll, as a writer who opposed Nazism in everything, was an irreconcilable enemy of racism, chauvinism and of the hatred among the nations. Boll, often, openly expressed his sympathy and support for the people who courageously are struggling for progress.

I had the chance to meet and talk for a long time with Heinrich Boll in Frankfurt, West Germany in the fall of 1981. During his visit to the Albanian Book pavilion in the Frankfurt Fair, a German writer, after having asked me what German writer I would have desired to meet, told me that the next day he had transmitted my desire to Heinrich Boll and that Boll had reserved for me the only free afternoon he had for meeting. I knew that Boll was ill and, besides that, that he was staying only 2 days in Frankfurt and that during this stay he had dozens of requests for meetings; therefore, I considered a honor his immediate acceptance to receive me.

In reality, Boll was very well informed about our country. Erect, showing fatigue after his recent operation, speaking French correctly and discreetly curious, Boll was asking many questions and was listening attentively to everything, looking with his searching eyes which, together with a characteristic turn of his head toward the speaker, gave a particular seriousness to his attention.

We were in the coffee shop of the "Plaza" hotel, where he was staying with his wife. Heinrich Boll wanted details about the literature of the Albanian people, about the tragedy of the Albanian frontiers at the beginning of the century and about the history of religion, or precisely, of the three different religions in Albania which, being linked with different occupiers, had converted themselves into factors of national disunity. Boll was especially interested in the Kosove issue, about which the German press had written and is writing extensively. Later, he showed a lively interest in Albanian literature and the present life in Albania. When, profiting from the latter, on behalf of the leadership of the Union of Writers and Artists, I told him that he would be welcome to visit our country as a guest of the union, Boll accepted it with pleasure. This was not an acceptance of politeness; it was a serious one just as everything else in him. And, I was convinced of this, because he asked me in detail about the period which would be most suitable for him to visit Albania because, as he was ill, he could not endure a severe climate and noise. Later, for the same reason, his illness, he asked if it was possible to reach Tirana in one day without stopping in other cities; he was pleased when the German journalist who accompanied us told him that in summer there was a direct airplane from Cologne, where he lived, to Tirana.

Heinrich Boll was not able to come to Albania. His severe illness did not allow him to recover, but his influential works, short stories and novels have come to Albania and are widely known by our readers.

9100

CSO: 2100/51

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'REVISIONIST' NOTIONS OF PARTY ROLE REJECTED

AU120959 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Ivan Hutira, doctor of natural sciences and candidate of sciences, lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee: "The Leading Role of the Party--An Objective, Law-Governed Feature of Socialist Construction"]

[Excerpt] Today, as in the past, questions concerning the standing of communist parties in the socialist society are in the center of an acute ideological struggle. Bourgeois ideologists, anticommunists, and revisionists of various hues are trying to deny or at least question the fact that the leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties and the enhancement of this role are a law-governed, objective feature of socialist construction. Their attacks on the party are becoming increasingly forceful at present. From their experience acquired in the struggle against socialist countries, anticommunist forces know that the first prerequisite of their success in individual socialist countries is the Marxist-Leninist parties' loss of the ability to apply their leading role in society and their elimination from the political life of the country. This is the unchanging goal of the struggle waged by anticommunist forces. At the same time, they are trying to adapt the forms of their struggle to the conditions that have been formed in socialist countries. Although we are witnessing gross attacks by representatives of imperialist forces against socialism and the party's leading role, which are allegedly historical anachronisms that must be eliminated by force, more refined forms of this struggle prevail at present.

Warding Off Ideological Subversion

As findings gained during the crisis-ridden development in our country in the years 1968-69 and in the Polish People's Republic at the beginning of the 80's show, the chief aim of the activity of these forces and their allies is to disintegrate Marxist-Leninist parties politically, ideologically, and organizationally, to weaken them, and later on to eliminate their leading position in society. They have always used, and continue to use, for this aim various representatives of revisionist forces, political emigres, or so-called dissidents. Ota Sik, for example--a representative of revisionist forces in the years 1968-69 who now lives as an emigre and is fully in the service of anticommunism--claims that

the development of true democracy requires, in lieu of the party's leading role, the full independence of diverse social organizations and the admission of activity of other parties and political groups, parties and groups that could seek a change of the existing conditions. According to Sik, the first condition of democracy is the introduction of a pluralist political system, in which nonsocialist forces would be in opposition to the party and would be able to compete with the party for power in the country. Similarly, Adam Schaff, who has for his revisionist views been expelled from the PZPR, sees in his work "The Communist Movement At a Crossroads" the solution for a socialist development in capitalist countries in the elaboration of a different model of socialism from the one existing in the socialist countries. Speaking about socialist countries, he demands fundamental changes in the power-structure. Even though not very much can be done immediately to effect these changes, it is reportedly necessary to fight for them. As A. Schaff claims, these changes cannot be reached directly, "but only indirectly, by way of... social transformations associated with them, and by implementing a new model of the communist movement." According to A. Schaff, how does this new model differ from the existing one? "Particularly in the fact," he says, "that it proceeds from the principle of political and ideological pluralism in building a socialist society."

The reinforcement of ideological subversion compells us to wage a struggle against it and to enhance our ideological counteroffensive. This requires that we systematically, purposefully, and on a high level fulfill two tasks in one. On the one hand, we must continuously expose the roots of various bourgeois "concepts" denying, falsely interpreting, or distorting the role of the party under socialism; on the other hand, from the position of Marxism-Leninism, at the same time we must creatively and consistently define and clarify questions that come up as we strengthen the position and deepen the function of the party in the socialist society, as well as define and clarify problems connected with the factors that determine growth of the party's leading role.

Every manifestation of neglect occurring in our work in this field will open opportunity and room for interpretations that are alien to our doctrine.

CSO: 2400/598



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NONALIGNED AWARE OF THREAT OF IMPERIALISM

AUL31344 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Jan V. Svec in the "Word on the Events" column: "The Unswerving Standpoints of the Nonaligned"]

[Text] The weighty and urgent nature of the problems dealt with at the eighth ministerial conference of the Nonaligned Movement, held last week in the Angolan capital of Luanda, is shown, among other things by the fact that its deliberations were prolonged by all of 24 hours. In the "10th December" hall, 120 delegations of the movement's member states, international and regional organizations, as well as observers, listened in absorption to the text of the resolution that emerged from this significant session.

The adoption of the resolution testifies that the nonaligned countries have not only affirmed their existing standpoints, but that they are also resolved to continue to step up their efforts to consolidate peace and security, achieve general and total disarmament, and strengthen mutual cooperation and general progress in the world. Most of the statements referred to these issues and emphatically called for them to become the object of concentrated attention on the part of the governments and states of the world. Specifically targeted and concrete examples clearly showed who is maintaining what attitude--positive or negative--on the issues that so greatly alarm mankind.

In this connection in particular such reactionary and antihumane realities were sharply condemned in Luanda as the continuing existence of colonialism and practice of neocolonialism; the occupation of Namibia by the racists of the South African Republic, and the territories of Arab countries by Israel; the racial discrimination and genocide of other nations and nationalities; all forms of exploitation of other nations; and economic inequality and injustice. At the same time a finger was specifically pointed at the main practitioners of these antihumane practices--world imperialism; the military-industrial circles of the United States, NATO, the Republic of South Africa, and Israel; as well as the lackey regimes of certain other countries.



Both the debate and the resolution pointed out with grave concern the escalation of feverish armament, particularly nuclear armament, and the increasing number of mass destruction weapons and other armaments. The only way to ensure world peace and security, the conference stated, is by disarmament and international detente, the creation of nuclear-free zones, respect for the right to independence and self-determination, and the solution of all problems in harmony with the UN Charter. In the discussion the USSR proposals on the issues of disarmament and detente in the world were received positively. These proposals were also expressed in M. Gorbachev's message to the Nonaligned Movement last Friday [6 Sep], which stated among other things that, in the interests of establishing favorable conditions for concluding an agreement on a moratorium on all nuclear explosions, the USSR was refraining from conducting nuclear tests up to the end of this year. Deplorably, this could not be achieved because Washington continues to carry out its nuclear tests and is oriented toward escalating the feverish armament. The message further stresses that measures in the disarmament sphere would make it possible to release immense resources and devote them to the peaceful development of mankind, to use them, apart from other things, for resolving such burning problems as poverty, hunger, disease, and so forth.

On the other hand, it was stated in Luanda that the United States and other imperialist countries are constantly increasing armament, and nuclear armament in particular. They are evoking tension and armed conflicts and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, such as Nicaragua. That is why the United States was called on to adopt a more constructive attitude to peace and dialogue in this sphere. The absolute majority of nonaligned states maintains these standpoints. True, isolated voices also crop among them, which maintain the theory of the so-called equal distance and of the movement not being "an assisting force of the East or the West." The interpreters of these theories aim to neutralize the movement and thus weaken its noble goals in the battle for peace and security, against war, and for the freedom and economic independence of all countries. At the same time they are forgetting that even though we have here a movement of nonaligned countries, this does not mean that it must be indifferent to these cardinal issues of the present world. And in this connection it must be pointed out that even the Luanda resolution itself expresses high appreciation of this very activity of all international organizations, including the United Nations, UNESCO, FAO, OAU, and others, as well as their importance in the battle for peace and security; and that it rejects the attempts of the United States and certain other Western countries to belittle the role of these organizations in the solution of international problems.

In connection with economic problems, the Luanda conference spoke urgently of the essential need to install a new, just economic order, as well as to intensify and deepen the mutual economic cooperation among nonaligned countries.

The eighth conference of the ministers of foreign affairs of the nonaligned countries in Luanda has shown again that in the future, too, their policy will be based on the fight against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, aggressions, interference in internal affairs, occupations, and the supremacy of racism and Zionism--on the fight for a peaceful solution of all controversial issues, for cooperation among nations. It also decided that the Eighth Summit Conference of the heads of state and governments of the movement will be held in 1986 in the capital of Zimbabwe, Harare.

CSO: 2400/602

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PROSECUTOR DISCUSSES FIGHT AGAINST 'UNJUSTIFIED ENRICHMENT'

LD182129 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 18 Sep 85

[Text] In Prague today Jaroslav Krupauer, prosecutor general of the Czech Socialist Republic, together with representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and the Supreme Court, informed journalists about the implementation of the set of measures for more effective prosecution and curbing of unjustified enrichment. As he pointed out, the fight against this serious criminal activity is not only an affair for the Prosecutor's Office or the police. It is necessary to strengthen the legal awareness of the whole of society and to increase the level of citizenship bravery of all workers. He emphasized that up to 40 percent of all criminal acts are motivated by a vision of gain without work. There are still, however, many cases where people around the perpetrators knew of the criminal acts but kept silent. The concrete measures of the Prosecutor's Office are aimed at consistent evaluation of criminal responsibility of all perpetrators, in particular in cases of theft of socialist property, speculation, banned ventures, injury to the consumer, misuse of official position, and bribery. The organs of the prosecutor's office also aim at making use of the experiences of the Prosecutor's Office of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in deepening their actions against all forms of unjustified enrichment.

CSO: 2400/602

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CONCERN FOR YOUTH'S LEISURE TIME

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] After work every person has a right to their free time. How they utilize it depends to a considerable extent not only on themselves but also on the conditions under which they live. People are making constantly growing demands upon the substantive content of their free time.

Man acquires the ability to make effective use of his own free time as early as childhood and adolescence. The way in which children and young people utilize their free time is of extraordinary importance for them as well as for all of society. Particularly at this age, activities engaged in during free time frequently exert a more effective influence upon the formation of the personality of a young person than do learning and work, or even the influence of the family.

According to results of research, young people between the ages of 14 and 18 have more than 3 hours of free time each day during the week and up to 12 hours of free time on Saturdays and Sundays. However, thus far a considerable portion of the adolescent youth wastes its free time or even fills it with unsuitable activities.

Some young people adopt erroneous orientations with regard to the value of free time and with regard to the possibilities of its purposeful utilization. Examples which are foreign to the standards of the socialist way of life are pushed at them by various paths. Certainly, we wish to change this generally unfavorable status. Therefore, we cannot wait for it to happen automatically.

The activities of children and youth during free time is evaluated particularly in accordance with quantitative indicators rather than in accordance with the influence and effectivity actually attained. A long-lasting problem is particularly the shortage of good qualified professional cadres and volunteer workers. Sometimes there are supervisors but space is lacking.

Apart from generally permanent interests, which can be satisfied in cultural, physical education and other facilities, young people spend a substantial portion of their free time spontaneously. Even for this activity they need an accessible playground, a yard, park, a clubhouse, as well as the opportunity to meet in smaller groups. On the one hand, expensive physical training and

sports facilities are being built and are intended primarily only for professional and top-notch sports events--which we certainly need--but, on the other hand, small playgrounds in residential areas, clubhouses and workshops for hobby groups are missing completely.

The level of clubhouses for children and youth is mostly bad. These are very frequently rooms which are esthetically (sometimes even healthwise) unsuitable, for example, attics, cellars, warehouses which are no longer suited for any other purpose. Nevertheless, there are cases where national committees set such high rents for even these kind of spaces that the children or their organizations can naturally not pay them. For the most part they have no other possibilities since the settlements where today many young families with growing children live do not, in the majority of cases, observe the established standards with respect to civic amenities. And so, cultural and physical education facilities are developed as a last project or not at all.

The effects of these shortcomings have their greatest impact particularly on the group of young people in their adolescent stages. During this age it is unusually important to utilize every interest of the young people, to literally not let them be at the mercy of the frequently bad influence of their peer groups or any other unsuitable environment. These boys and girls are no longer members of the Young Pioneer Organization and the majority of them are not even members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. During vacation time, when they have the maximum amount of free time, the Union of Socialist Youth can offer the majority of them only a recreational trip through the offices of the Youth Travel Bureau. Opportunities to participate in summer work activity continue to be very limited. Large numbers of these young people are, therefore, dependent upon parental care or they simply waste their free time.

It should be added that not even our production and commerce provide an adequate quantity of suitable materials, apparatus, equipment, technical aides, etc., to occupy the free time of young people. And last, but not least, correct methodological leadership for people who are working directly with youth is lacking. It is also impossible to substantively influence the content of free time available to our children and young people without a productive and efficient scientific-research and theoretical base.

At the beginning of this year, the government of the Czech Socialist Republic adopted principles pertaining to the social influencing of free time for children and adolescent youth and a set of measures for the gradual implementation of these principles. Similar material was dealt with by the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic. The principles are based on an analysis of the reasons for the previously mentioned shortcomings and on the fact that free time is a truly irreplaceable area in which society can have an effect on adolescent youth.

The main path toward solution of this problem is the combining of forces and means, the coordination of efforts in state and economic organs, in culture, education and in social organizations. Responsible organs act wisely wherever they examine the existing utilization of school, cultural, physical education

and other facilities from the standpoint as to whether they also serve young people in their free time. Task number one is the development of inexpensive installations to facilitate spontaneous games and sports activities on the part of children and young people in all types of settlements and to expand their prototype designs. A suitable clubroom should not be missing from any community or locality.

The decisive task in creating the material-technical and other conditions in this phase devolves upon the national committees.

The fundamental principle pertaining to free time is voluntarism, the opportunity to choose. In dealing with young people one cannot prohibit anything or overorganize anything, or force anything or ignore their new interests. The only possible way of leading them to that which is of benefit to them and to society without force is to provide the opportunity--one which is consistently based on their actual interests.

5911

CSO: 2400/583

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

APPLIANCES STILL IN SHORT SUPPLY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Jan Markovic: "The Modernized Household Is Still Only a Dream"]

[Excerpts] They return from an afternoon walk. The children ran to the television set while the husband looked about the kitchen in embarrassment. The young wife needed only one look to determine that he was hungry. She smiled weakly and opened the refrigerator. Undecidedly she looked at the neatly stacked complete meals in their special wrappers.

"What would you like? We have beef and onions, roast chicken breast with peanuts, pigs' knuckles with sauerkraut and dumplings, but even ground beef with beans...."

"Today I will have the chicken breast," answered the husband.

"I will have the same and I will fix pancakes with chocolate for the children," added the wife.

In a moment the food was warming up in a special warmer. In the meantime the wife set the program buttons of the automatic washing machine and put the laundry into the drum. The signal beep announced that the food was adequately warmed up. The young wife served it on a plate. It was tasty, as though a chef had finished cooking it a little while ago. When they finished eating, she put the plates into the dishwasher. One could hear the suppressed whirling of the water. Then, completely washed and dried, she placed the plates on the shelf.

"Did you not remember that we were going to the theater this evening?" the young wife reminded her husband.

"I did not forget, but I will need a white shirt ironed...."

"I will iron it in a little while."

"You don't need to. On that electric ironer I can do it with ease. Just put the washed laundry into the drier."

Not quite an hour later the young couple departed for the theater fully dressed.

"Have a nice evening," said the young nurse at the door, who was to be the babysitter for the next 3 hours.

Somehow like this we imagined, at the beginning of the 1960's, that a household would be in 1985. The first "swallow" which caused us to have these bold thoughts was the automatic washing machine which the Tatramat Enterprise in Poprad began to produce on the basis of a French and Yugoslav license. It undoubtedly became a great aid to our women. Many considered it a modern-day maid in the household. With right, it was therefore expected that following the washing machine a modern drier, an electric ironer, an automatic dishwasher and a rich assortment of complete meals in separate wrappers would appear in the household to permit women to devote their time to improving themselves, to the cultural life and to the family.

What happened to these expectations? When I asked the chief of scientific and technical development at Tatramat at Poprad, engineer Rudolf Krejci, he showed me the prospectus of the most modern types of automatic washing machines and put a small neat-looking electric flat ironer, a Model Tamatpress 2000 on the table before us.

"For now, this is all that we produce at Tatramat to modernize the household. It is true and we do not count the water heater," added engineer Krejci.

Without a doubt the Tatramat washing machines have undergone considerable technical development; this is true of both types, top-load as well as front-load models. There were considerable problems with respect to mastering their production. As recently as 1980 more than 5 percent of the output was returned for repair to the enterprise. And they recall years when complaints attained a level of 10 percent. Today the situation is substantially different. During the first half of this year commercial organizations rejected only 1.8 percent of the entire volume of all types of washing machines sold.

Despite initial production problems women will surely agree with me that automatic washing machines from Tatramat in Poprad are reliable. In many households they have worked for 10 and even 15 years without major malfunctions. Currently they are owned by 34 percent of the households in our republic. And replacements are minimal. The overwhelming majority of women somehow don't know how to say goodbye to even the early models, even though Tatramat today produces automatic washing machines with substantially better parameters. For example, the front-loading Model 500.1 and Model 500.2 are equipped with an energy-saving program. They use only 670 watt-hours of electric energy per kilogram of laundry and the spin extractor achieves as many as 500 revolutions per minute. And this is not the last word from the producers. Next year the Model Tamat 800 automatic washer will be marketed and it will have a spin capacity of 800 revolutions per minute.

Currently the Tatramat Enterprise in Poprad produces 190,000 automatic washers per year, of which about 60,000 are sold abroad, predominantly to Poland.



Some 8,000 washing machines are exported each year to nonsocialist countries. Therefore, in the domestic market there is not a specialized sales organization which does not have automatic washing machines. The market is saturated with them. In spite of this we believe that Tatramat should produce deluxe models of washing machines in addition to the standard automatic washers. It is possible that these could succeed abroad.

The flat automatic ironer, Model Tamatpress 2000, was anticipated with impatience. This year it is already available in sales outlets. For now orders are on hand for about 15,000 ironers. At Tatramat some 60 are produced each day. The reactions to their quality are favorable. Graphically said, they can iron everything except a lady's brassiere. It is, therefore, realistic to anticipate that interest in this product will rise, since it means additional labor saving and easing of the thus far labor-intensive task of ironing for every working woman. These days the Tatramat Enterprise is already working on improving this appliance. They want to equip the ironer with a moisturizing sprinkler device.

However, the question of when we shall finally get a dishwasher and a clothes drier, about which Tatramat has been talking for years, arises quite justifiably.

"For now we are counting on their development in long-range plans of our technical expansion," said Comrade Krejci. "In this case the utilization of these appliances in the household does not depend only on us. It is necessary to pose the question as to who would buy them. In our new apartment buildings--in the minikitchens--there is no room for their installation. A modern kitchen with a dishwasher, a clothes drier, some larger grills and other accomplishments of modern times requires room and, thus far, the architects have not thought of it."

"Yet in our country there is much construction under way. In the majority of single-family houses there is sufficient room."

"That is true, except that the population, for the most part, insists on sticking to the traditional layout of households. Whoever wants a dishwasher can actually buy it right now. We are importing them from abroad. We are aware of the fact, however, that we shall have to initiate their development and production during the 8th Five-Year Plan to make them accessible, with respect to price, for everyone."

Well, that is reality. Much still needs to be done before we can realize our expectations regarding the modernization of households.

5911

CSO: 2400/596

8 October 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## BRIEFS

DANISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION--The parliamentary delegation of the Kingdom of Denmark, headed by Svend Jakobsen, head of the Folketing, arrived by air today for an official visit of Czechoslovakia. The visit is taking place at the invitation of Alois Indra, chairman of the Federal Assembly. The Danish guests will discuss with the Czechoslovak representatives possibilities for further development of Czechoslovak-Danish relations and will exchange views on the present international situation with regard to the role of parliaments in the effort to strengthen peace and security in Europe. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 15 Sep 85]

TUNISIAN LEADER ARRIVES--Mohamed Mzali, prime minister of the Republic of Tunisia, has arrived today at the invitation of Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister, on an official visit of Czechoslovakia. The guest was welcomed at the Ruzyně airport in Prague by Comrade Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister, Svatopluk Potac and Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy prime ministers and other representatives of our political and public life. After the welcome ceremony, Mohamed Mzali was presented with the salute of the commander of the honorary unit of Prague garrison and together with Lubomir Strougal they oversaw the unit. The guest was then welcomed by other Czechoslovak representatives and the staff of the Tunisian Embassy in Czechoslovakia. The welcoming ceremony in honor of Tunisian premier was concluded by ceremonial march of the honorary unit. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 16 Aug 85]

VISITING CHILEAN COMMUNIST--(CTK)--Jorge Montes, member of the Political Commission and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile, arrived in the CSSR on 3 September at the invitation of the CSSR National Front Central Committee and the Czechoslovak Committee of Solidarity With the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Within the framework of the International Week of Solidarity with the People of Chile, he will take part in three solidarity rallies; in the exhibition on the 15th anniversary of the victory of the Government of People's Unity in Chile; and in other events. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Sep 85 p 2]

CSSR, FRG SCIENTISTS CONFER--Bonn (CTK)--A conference on "Humanism in the Czech Lands as a New Educational Movement" was opened on 3 September in Walberberg near Bonn, FRG. The 5-day conference, organized by a UNESCO-affiliated FRG Committee, will be attended by scientific workers from the universities in Bonn, Cologne on the Rhine, Marburg, Bochum, Osnabrueck, Munester, Bamberg, Freiburg, and elsewhere in the FRG; and also from Prague, Ceske Budejovice, Olomouc, Brno, and Bratislava. This is the first time such a conference has been held. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 85 p 7]

INTERNATIONAL METALS CONFERENCE--A conference on the latest knowledge on extracting metals from low-grade ore, entitled "Separation of Ion Compounds," opened on 2 September in Smolenice, in Trnava District. It is attended by 70 experts from the CSSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the USSR, the Netherlands, Japan, and the United States. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 85 p 2]

INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL SYMPOSIUM--An international symposium which is attended by 160 scientists from 18 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and which was opened on 2 September in Brno on the premises of the Higher Agricultural Academy, will be dealing with the regulation of plant integrity by means of plant hormones; this method will be most important toward the end of this century, when traditional methods for raising agricultural and foodstuff production will have exhausted. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 85 p 2]

MINISTERIAL TALKS WITH TUNISIA--Pavol Bahyl, CSSR minister of general engineering, has returned from his visit to the Republic of Tunisia. In Tunis, he conferred with Rachief Safr, minister of the national economy, on the further development of trade and industrial cooperation between the two countries. In the course of his visit, he also had talks with other Tunisian representatives. At the close of this visit, he was received by Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 85 p 2]

ASSEMBLY DISCUSSED TOURISM--The 34th joint meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committees of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly, held in Prague on 11 September, discussed, among other things, the results of tourism in 1984 and the first half of 1985. In a "critical and frank report," Ludovit Prieceľ, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade, pointed out some long-term negative trends in Czechoslovak foreign tourism--the declining number of visitors from nonsocialist countries, stagnation in organized tourism with socialist countries, and the increase in 1-day trips to the CSSR. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Sep 85 p 2]

CSO: 2400/598

HUNGARY

CALL TO REWRITE UNIVERSITY COURSES ON MARXIST-LENINIST LINES

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 4, 1985 p 195

[Text] Invitation to Applicants

The Marxism-Leninism Instructional Department of the Ministry of Culture announces a competition for the writing of consolidated higher educational lecture notes on philosophical, political-economical and scientific socialist subjects.

1. The consolidated handwritten lecture notes submitted as the basis of application may be 20-25 author's sheets long (one original sheet = 40,000 n), and must be prepared on the basis of the new instructional program. Applicants must take into consideration that the available time frame for each of the three subjects is 60 hours.
2. The final date for applications is 31 December 1986. The competition has a motto. Competitive works must be typed, double spaced and submitted in triplicate to the Marxism-Leninism Instructional Department of the Ministry of Culture (1884 Budapest Pf. 1.). Individual applicants as well as cooperatives may participate.
3. Applications are evaluated by a board of judges. The board of judges may recommend the distribution of three awards in each of the three specialties.

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| I. prize   | 60,000 Ft. |
| II. prize  | 40,000 Ft. |
| III. prize | 20,000 Ft. |

The results of the competition will be made public by 30 April 1987. The Marxism-Leninism Instructional Department retains the right to publish the winning works; in case of publication the authors are entitled to the appropriate fee specified in the decree. The Marxist-Leninist Instructional Department will return the non-winning works to their authors. Detailed information concerning the competition will be provided by the professional lecturers of the department.

12932  
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POLAND

## PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITY INCREASES

### Election Commission Rules On Regional Units

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Jul 85 pp 1,2

[Text] The State Electoral Commission met on 12 July. In accordance with its own work plan and Article 33 Section 2 of the Sejm Election Ordinance, the commission considered and issued instructions on the setting and establishing methods of work for the district and precinct electoral commissions.

These instructions are supposed to serve the district and precinct commissions as a practical instrument to help them realize their basic tasks. They include instructions and explanations of the work of the electoral commissions such as the registration of district electoral lists, ballot printing, the presentation of voter lists for public examination and the conducting of voting in the various precincts and throughout the electoral district.

The commission devoted much attention to efficient realization of electoral tasks. The commission familiarized itself with the results of PKW inspection of pre-election work, especially the creation of district electoral commissions and the creation of conditions necessary for the work and preparation of the first sessions of these commissions and other electoral work such as the establishment of voting precincts.

During this meeting it was stated that the work called for by the electoral procedure is being correctly carried out on schedule and in some cases ahead of schedule. The actions taken by the presidiums of people's councils and territorial organs of state administration have properly prepared the way for the carrying out of the elections and efficient handling of electoral commissions.

The commission stated the tasks of the PKW inspectorate for the coming period.

Electoral Districts Set

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jul 85 pp 1,4

[Text] At its latest meeting, the State Electoral Commission determined that the work stipulated by the electoral procedure is being carried out correctly on schedule and in some cases even ahead of schedule. This work includes the creation of electoral precincts. Although the schedule for the completion of this was set by the electoral calendar for 19 August, the establishment of precincts is already much advanced in many provinces.

Let us recall that the voting precincts are established by the presidiums of the basic level people's councils at the recommendation of the territorial organs of state administration. The presidiums also establishment district numbers, their boundaries and headquarters. In principle, an electoral precinct consists of three to four thousand inhabitants but in some cases can be larger. A precinct can, for example, include a small town, part of a community and a city neighborhood. Electoral ordinance also permits the creation of separate precincts in locations of permanent or even temporary residence of the voters and therefore in student dormitories, sanitariums and social welfare homes. Precincts can also be established on Polish marine vessels that are at sea on an election day as well as among groups of Polish citizens abroad.

As regional PAP [Polish Press Agency] correspondents have informed us, many basic-level people's council presidiums have already decided on the creation of their electoral precincts. In Lublin Province, these precincts have already been established in the Karczmiska, Niemce, Milejow, Ludwin, Niedzwiada and Ostrow Lubelski communities. The size of the existing precinct boundaries overlap those of people's council elections. In some of the regions of Lublin Province, the number of precincts has, at the wish of the citizens, been adapted to present needs. For example, the community of Wolka Lubelska has been enlarged by two additional precincts while Pulawy has been increased by one.

Bydgoszcz Province is already being divided into electoral precincts. There will be about 680 precincts which is 100 more than during the people's council elections. This is due to an increase in the number of registered voters. Documentary material needed to compile voter lists have already been prepared and updated.

'Special Commission' on Deputies' Office

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by J.M.: "Duties , Rights of Deputies"]

[Text] (Own information) The Sejm Extraordinary Commission has finished its work on a bill on the duties and rights of Sejm deputies. At a 17 July meeting, it considered a subcommission report on proposed corrections.

The proposal for regulation of the legal status of Sejm deputies was the result of a desire to consolidate the experiences of the 8th term of the Sejm. At the present time, strict constitutional norms and the provisions of Sejm regulations are in force. The new law is supposed to strengthen the position of deputies as members of the the highest organ of state authority.

The chapter devoted to the deputies' duties toward their constituents was extended. Among other things, it emphasized the importance of deputy meetings and cooperation with people's councils and territorial institutions and organizations.

A special role in territorial work should be fulfilled by provincial deputy teams whose position within the structure of the Sejm is clearly defined by this law.

With regard to the rights and duties of deputies, the new law emphasizes their right to express their views and make proposals on matters under consideration in Chamber sessions as well as their right to appeal to the Sejm Presidium on certain matters.

A deputy also has the right to any information and material necessary to carry out his work and the right to look into the activities of organs of state administration and other institutions. The obligations that these organs have to a deputy are extensive and the new law even states that their employees that do not cooperate in the work of deputies are subject to legal action.

The last chapter of the bill considers the conditions for a deputy's execution of his mandate. These provisions regulate the important matter of a deputy's relationship to his place of work. For example, without the consent of the Sejm Presidium, it is impossible for a deputy's employer to dismiss him or change his terms of employment or wages during or for up to two years following the conclusion of his term of office. At the recommendation of a deputy, his employer is required to give him leave without pay to perform his mandate and at the end of this period to rehire him at the same or an equal position.

The commission approved the text of the bill. Edward Szymanski (PZPR) was elected as the reporting deputy.

#### Regional Press Quoted on Deputy Ethics

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Dorota Symonides by Marian Buchowski of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA (12 December 1984): "Voices From Poland: To Save Face"]

[Text] "...The ethics of a Sejm deputy are discussed far too little. After all, a deputy is not a mannequin or puppet but a personality with its own temperament and intelligence, an entity in its place of work and family with a feeling of responsibility and self-esteem that cannot be lost. How do we bring these values in line with the discipline often imposed by the Sejm deputy club to which that deputy belongs? What do we do if the will of that

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club goes against that of the deputy? I know about these problems from my own experiences because I was the subject of a vivisection. Generally speaking, voters do not know that a deputy is obligated to vote as his club decides. They think that the deputy must vote according to their wishes. Fortunately, lawmakers have studied this problem and considered it in a new bill on deputy rights and duties. The activities of a deputy are limited and these limitations should be known so that a deputy will not be held to blame for his inability to do certain things...

"I must say with all sincerity that no amount of education could have given me the knowledge and experiences of my term as a Sejm deputy. I came to know very great and small people. I met brave people and managers unconvinced of the importance and value of any type of renewal. I came to understand the importance of compromise and toleration, the limits to human psychic stamina and the lifestyle of our nation's leaders. I saw the mechanism by which important state acts come into being. I saw the kitchen of legislation in which the cooks did not always stick to the recipe, the meal was inedible and had to be corrected..."

#### Osmanczyk Cited on Selection Criteria

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Jan Edmund Osmanczyk by Edward Pochron of TRYBUNA POLSKA (20-22 July): "Voices From Poland: Criteria for Selection"]

[Text] "...As in previous Sejm sessions, many people became deputies not because they had the sort of knowledge and experience needed in the Sejm but because they had their own local, regional or national merits. For them, this was more of a duty than a distinction. The latest Sejm term saw a record need for reform in fundamental law. The quality of the changes made did not always satisfy this need. The practice of choosing Sejm candidates not according to their ability to perform the hard work of legislation but as a means of recognition turned out to be very dissatisfactory. This made itself felt in that term's record for amendment of its own laws and therefore time spent correcting its own bungling.

The leadership has become aware of this and has not only tried to change the electoral ordinance but, for the first time in the history of the Polish People's Republic, it has recognized the need for very precise formulation of deputy rights and duties. Of course, it must pass the test of time just like any other law. We will see how the choice of deputies turns out. Nonetheless, seeing the tendencies of the initiators of changes in the Sejm, I am very sure that the Sejm will now receive many more specialists and experienced practitioners needed by the scores of ministerial commissions. That cannot fail to improve the quality of our laws and make them more fully meet the real needs of our state and citizens."



National Electoral Convention

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-22 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by I. Cz.: "At the All-Polish Electoral Convention: Organizations Exercise Their Powers"]

[Text] (Own information) Throughout Poland, the political parties, union and public organizations and associations empowered to do so by the electoral ordinance are proposing candidates for deputies to electoral conventions. In accordance with the ordinance, provincial electoral conventions are accepting applications tendered in a specific way.

We visited the All-Polish Electoral Convention which in this phase in the electoral campaign gives daily advice and help to the provincial conventions and organizations having so many questions and doubts about the procedure for announcing Sejm deputy candidates. For example, a group of cooperative unions was one of the first organizations to ask the Electoral Convention to decide whether provincial cooperative unions have the right to announce Sejm candidates.

Before they designate candidates, very many social organizations and associations first want to be certain that they are so authorized. Most frequently, they turn for help to central organizations with nationwide authority (which according to the ordinance is one of the conditions for advancing candidates) because there are no provincial authorities to which they can refer. Other doubts and questions are expressed by organizations whose provincial structures are found only in the old provinces that existed before the territorial reform. The All-Polish Committee to given its answer to all of these problems.

However, when one examines them, some of the decisions are surprising. One of the enquiries concerned the authority of rural housewives' circles [KGW]. We have been accustomed to regarding the KGW as an independent social organization that does have its counterpart on the provincial level. At the same time, it seems that according to statutes, these circles are part of the provincial association of rural circles and organizations in which they function as one of the social commissions. The KGW can therefore present their own prospective candidates only through the provincial agricultural circles and organizations.

According to the All-Polish Convention, Article 54 of the Electoral Ordinance and Article 84 of the Constitution are used to answer all of the questions and doubts about the interpretations of the ordinance's term of "other social organizations" and to compare the needs with the charter of the given organization or association.

Aside from their daily duties, the All-Polish Electoral Convention is carrying out the greater part of its work in continuing preparations to accept deputy candidate applications for the national elections list. These candidates must

be announced to the All-Polish Convention and the PRON National Council during the first few days of August.

#### Union Obligation In Elections Discussed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-22 Jul 85 p 6

[Text] problems associated with the current nationwide campaign preceding elections to the 8th Sejm were the subject of a meeting on 19 July between the leaders and chairman of the OPZZ [expansion unknown], Alfred Miodowicz, and representatives of provincial associations of trade unions and particular branches of the union movement.

During the meeting, information was presented on the position and tasks of OPZZ and the entire union movement in the Sejm electoral campaign. This tended to be a "working" discussion but the basis for it was the OPZZ Council's recent Electoral Appeal to working people.

It was stated at the meeting that the class union movement has become actively engaged in the elections campaign which it saw as an opportunity to present its program to the nation. It was stressed that as the largest organization of working people in Poland, the union movement wants to gain the worthwhile place in the future parliament that it had at the beginnings of the Polish People's Republic. It was stated that this will be absolutely necessary for Poland at the end of the 1980's.

Participation in elections is also a chance for unions to be represented as the country's co-managers. For that reason, the union movement should become actively involved in all stages of the electoral campaign because this will enable us to speak out on all of matters most important to the nation and working people.

It was said that by sending representatives to the Sejm, we could assure ourselves of the most competent people as well as those who will not compromise the interests of workers.

During the sessions, Secretary of the All-Polish Electoral Convention Kazimierz Cypryński spoke. He pointed out the close connection between the pace of Poland's economic growth, continuing internal stabilization and Poland's growing strength in the international arena.

Alfred Beszterda, vice-chairman of the PRON National Council, made an appeal for cooperation between PRON and union organizations to popularize the content of the electoral declaration and ordinance. "The Declaration," he stated, "is not a program but an illustration of matters for public discussion and is open in nature. This should influence the establishment of the most important demands on the future parliament and discussion therefore goes far beyond the subject of the coming elections into that of general public problems and our future.

At the conclusion, Alfred Miodowicz discussed the question of the method used to announce union candidates for the deputy list.

#### Candidate Application Procedure Described

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Jul 85 p 1

[Article by R.: "Electoral Ordinance In Hand: How Candidates Apply"]

[Text] Seweryn Kowalski, chairman of the Warsaw Electoral Convention told a journalist that by 19 July he had received several announcements of deputy candidates and that greater movement is expected at the end of July and beginning of August.

Candidates for the provincial conventions can only be announced until 7 August while those for the All-Polish Convention, candidates for the 50-member national list, must be announced to the PRON National Council by 3 August.

What is the technique used to announce candidates? This is addressed by the 1 July resolution of the All-Polish Electoral Convention which states that the applications must be submitted in written form and include the following information: full name of the organization (or provincial agreement) that proposes the candidate, number of the electoral district, the name, age, education, profession, employment and work and residential address of the candidate as well as his organizational affiliations and social functions. It is also necessary to determine beforehand whether the candidate has the right to vote and meets criteria stated in Article 1 of the Electoral Ordinance. This article states that only a citizen of unimpeachable moral and political reputation guaranteeing the proper execution of his mandate to represent his constituents and all of society according to the constitutional principles of the Polish People's Republic can become a deputy.

The application must include the candidate's declaration of agreement with his mandate as a deputy, his characteristics professional achievements and social distinctions, awards, etc.

The electoral convention meets to decide how it will act on an application. According to the new ordinance, the conventions gather applications for Sejm deputy candidates and carry out the first selection. The next selection is made by citizens at public consultative gatherings and it is only then that the candidate lists are registered at electoral commissions.

We can expect that as many as 3-4 candidates will be presented at these meetings for every Sejm seat available. If there are more than that number, the conventions will have to "sift through" the candidates lists and inform the applicants who was dropped and why.

12261  
CSO: 2600/989

POLAND

# PROPORTIONALITY OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN SEJM DEFENDED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 11 Aug 85 pp 1, 4

[Sejm Deputy Edward Szymanski, director of the Bureau of Sejm Affairs of the CC PZPR, interviewed by Jan Ruranski]

[Text] [Question] Let us begin with, to borrow a term from jazz, an improvisation on the theme of the political make-up of our parliament. Many people consider that the Sejm is not a proportional representation of the composition of our society, since the number of non-party deputies is too small; they recall an anecdotal recipe for rabbit pate which calls for half a rabbit and half a horse... But seriously speaking, people desire proportional democracy, so why is it not applied in our parliament?

[Answer] The political structure of parliament is based on the political structure of society. Not the social structure, but the political structure. In most modern countries the source of political power are parties and groups of a political nature. They formulate platforms, together organize election campaigns, put forward candidates, and in effect get some sort of representation in parliament. Without the support of a party or significant political group, an individual politician would not have a chance. There are no non-party deputies in the parliaments of the parliaments of the FRG or France.

[Question] But there are the "Greens" in the FRG, who in the space of a few years have gone from being "conservationists" who were considered either a joke or a nuisance, to become a political force and have entered the Bundestag. Shouldn't our Federation of Consumers, a powerful social movement, be represented in the Sejm? Or the trade unions: the idea of creating a caucus of trade union deputies was recently put forward quite openly by the president of the OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz. It seems that much has changed in our political landscape, that only the Sejm retains its old, pre-August structures...

[Answer] Let me begin with what you said about the Sejm "retaining its old structures." That view is correct only with regard to one structure, i.e. the plenary session of the Sejm. It has a long tradition in Poland, and in other countries, so it does not change so quickly. But parliaments do not only meet at plenary sessions, they also work in committees, groups, clubs, presidia, conventions, etc. The structure of a working parliament, which is what the Polish Sejm is, is more complicated than it may seem to the casual observer.

The procedures and the related structures of the hard-working 8th Sejm have changed considerably. The structure of the Presidium has changed; both the number and structure of Sejm committees has changed, and new, special ones have been set up; the Socio-Economic Council of the Sejm has been convened, as well as a group of advisors, and the Supreme Chamber of control [NIK] has been resubordinated to the Sejm. It is also worth recalling the State Tribunal and the Constitutional Tribunal. These and other initiatives of the political parties and groups, as well as of individual deputies, have considerably changed and developed the structures of the Sejm, adapting them to the growing role of the Polish parliament and the requirements of political life in Poland.

Turning to the matter of representation in the Sejm, let me point out that the Federation of Consumers, just as other social organizations, can put forward its own candidates for provincial election caucuses, and for the PRON on the national ballot. With regard to the internal structures of the Sejm, the recently passed law on the rights and duties of deputies solves this problem in the following way: political parties represented in the Sejm may create deputies' clubs, but the law also says that with the consent of the Presidium of the Sejm and the Convention other organizational structures may be established. I think the most important thing is the very presence in the Sejm of deputies linked to a specific social group.

[Question] Perhaps from the point of view of the dominant club it is not so important, but from the point of view of, say, a 5-member group of Catholics it is worthwhile?

[Answer] That is also why such groups exist. Aside from party clubs there are and have been three Catholic groups and one non-party group in the Sejm.

[Question] If the unions try to set up such groups, what are their chances of success?

[Answer] The law does not prevent them from doing so.

[Question] Wouldn't the Sejm enjoy more authority with the public if it had, e.g. trade union, environmental or consumer groups in it?

[Answer] You emphasize the multitude of various groups, circles and clubs in the divisions of the Sejm. If the Sejm's authority depended on that, the problem would be very simple. As for consumers, that movement could have 460 deputies...

[Question] But that is not the same thing.

[Answer] Why should we multiply the structures in the Sejm to no purpose? In any case, that is a problem for the next Sejm, but we are talking about the present one.

[Question] Agreed. The 8th Sejm was unusual and tumultuous. It did not pass without upheavals; its political importance and functions were not undermined, though Gierek, Jaroszewicz, Babiuch and a few dozen others ceased to be deputies. By the way, ironically when in America an actor has come to power, here actors have given up power, Holoubek lost his mandate, Lomnicki...

[Answer] Mr. Tadeusz Lomnicki was not a deputy.

[Question] But he was a member of the Central Committee. Getting back to the Sejm, how many deputies of the 8th Sejm relinquished their mandates voluntarily, and how many were deprived of them?

[Answer] With regard to the PZPR Deputies' Club, 31 deputies relinquished their mandates for various reasons, 11 deputies died, in one case (Maciej Szczepanski) a mandate expired as a result of a court decision. Thirty-three new deputies, party members, have replaced them. After the Spring 1980 elections the PZPR Deputies' Club had a total of 261 members, i.e. 57 percent of the total number of deputies. At the end of that Sejm the Club had 251 members.

[Question] From these numbers it is clear that if it wanted to, the PZPR Club could pass any bill in the Sejm without having to get the agreement of the other clubs.

[Answer] That is true, but the PZPR, carrying out the policy of the 9th Party Congress, does not want simply to dominate with its political majority, but rather to unite, to win supporters for its platform. The easiest way would be to outvote the others. That is the principle in Western parliaments, where the number of votes is what counts. We prefer to achieve a consensus before voting, and for this reason preparations and consultations take so much time before each bill is voted on. Most of the Sejm's work on the draft of each new act takes place in the committees, in deputies' clubs, and in consultations with social organizations. Voting is the final stage, when positions have been brought closer together and deputies have a clear view of the matter.

[Question] Then at the plenary session the debate is anemic, and the Sejm becomes a "voting machine"...

[Answer] No, times have changed, and so has the Sejm. Let me remind you of the last session and the heated debate over the law on higher education.

[Question] There was also much truth in what Edmund Osmanczyk had to say. Was it really worth it to pass such a law which raised such controversy in the colleges just before the new Sejm elections? Could it not have been left to the next Sejm and thus avoid the charge that it was railroaded through?

[Answer] Charges of a high-handed or "manipulative" haste on the part of the government with respect to that law can only be made by those who are not sufficiently familiar with the matter. If the government were really in such a hurry, it could have presented the bill to the Sejm at the end of last year. Please note that before the government came to the conclusion that the law had to be changed, it tried to influence the educational community with the help of that law. But since many months of attempts, not hasty actions, yielded no results, when there were instances of abuse of the institutions contained in the law, of subverting its spirit, the government, seeking an optimal solution to the problem from the point of view of the state, submitted the bill for revision of the law. I also consider that the best solution.

[Question] But it gave rise to many negative emotions.

[Answer] The best solution cannot be considered in emotional terms. In politics, the familiar concepts of "good" and "evil" do not apply. Each political decision is partly "good", partly "bad." What counts is the result.

[Question] Yes, but we still do not know the result...

[Answer] Of course, it would have been better if we had not had to revise the law, but I think that after using all the political means which were used, there was no alternative. Will that affect election turn-outs, as some fear? I think we still have enough time to reach those who want to listen. Some of the people who protested against the revision of the education law do not know the scope of the proposed changes. We have to clarify the intentions of the government when it proposed the bill and the Sejm approved it... I think we will succeed in winning over at least those who want to talk with the government. As for those who consider that every step the government takes is a mistake, I am sure we will not convince them.

[Question] When the law was voted on, in spite of the heated debate, there were no differences of view between the deputies' clubs. But were there any basic differences of view between the PZPR and, say, the ZSL (United Peasant Party) on any issue during the 8th Sejm?

[Answer] No. There were no differences of principle between the clubs. The clubs do act on the basis of the constitutional system of our state, so there are no contradictory or antagonistic goals. Certainly there were differences in assessments, since the farmer deputies of the ZSL wanted a solution as far-reaching and as advantageous for the countryside as possible. The same goes for the SD with regard to small-scale industry and trades. As an example, I could refer to the law on pensions and incomes for farmers, which the ZSL Club initiated together with our Club.

[Question] Was the draft too far-reaching?

[Answer] No, but viewpoints on this matter were not the same at first. We had to consider the position of the government, consult with advisors, in order to ultimately reach a consensus.

[Question] In recent years there has been a gradual reduction in the range of differences in the voting of deputies. That is understandable, for the times are more peaceful now, and better work is being done on writing the laws before they are proposed, but from the point of view of an observer of politics, I rather miss those live broadcasts of Sejm and Central committee sessions...

[Answer] In 1981 many people expressed the view that the more we differ, the better, the easier it would be to solve all our problems. We went too far. Let me emphasize that often differing views are based on inadequate, superficial knowledge. The more familiar people become with a matter, the fewer differences in opinion. As for television broadcasts, I think they sometimes provoked artificial controversies.



[Question] But they also gave the public complete information...

[Answer] Anyone who wants to learn about the debates in the Sejm can buy the SEJM JOURNAL available at newsstands. Absolutely everything that happens in the Sejm is recorded there. Incidentally, the stormiest debates take place in the Sejm committees; it is a pity that the press so rarely reports them...

[Question] PRZEGLAD TYGONDNIOWY does so rather often, and since we are talking about stormy debates, has any bill ever been rejected as a result of them?

[Answer] No, not to the degree of being rejected. But almost all have been changed or amended. Believe me, out of over 200 laws, I cannot remember a single bill which went through the Sejm without giving rise to differences of opinion and even emotional ones. Even such seemingly innocuous bills as one for naming colleges have been controversial. There are, it is true, still a few bills in the Sejm which have not been passed during this session, e.g. the bill on the office of the Minister of Health, or a revision of the law on housing, but this is because there was not enough time to debate them.

[Question] What is the purpose of the Bureau which you head?

[Answer] To make a long story short, the Bureau of Sejm Affairs serves the deputies' club. Our job is to organize the deputies of the party deputies' club, to assist them, to provide them with information and arguments.

[Question] And also to ensure voting discipline?

[Answer] No, not that. If that were the case, the Bureau could be called, for example, the "Secretariat of the PZPR Club." Obviously a deputy belonging to the party is obligated to conform to the statute of the PZPR. And it includes rules for the deputies' club. The rules allow the leadership of the club to call upon deputies to take a certain position. But in the hierarchy of political measures which the club can take, that is one of the last to be used. During this Sejm, to be sure, there were a few cases where party deputies were disciplined.

[Question] What was at issue?

[Answer] Taking up a unified position.

[Question] In which cases are party deputies obligated to vote with the party, and in which cases are they not?

[Answer] Every situation is different. Only when the club considers matters of principle, matters regarding the system, does the club leadership resort to discipline. But these means are used only when other means of political persuasion are exhausted. During this Sejm session there were many situations where the result of the vote was more important than discipline. How the Sejm behaved was often decisive in determining other countries' attitude toward Poland.



[Question] To a certain extent these are now problems of the past. Now Polish public opinion, and also the attention of foreign observers of Polish affairs, is concentrated on the elections of deputies to the next Sejm. In the final phase of candidate selection, there has been increasing interest in the election laws. For example, our readers ask us: what difference does it make that ten candidates are selected for two spots on the list of candidates, since who appears on the ballot is decided by an electoral caucus, and there does not even have to be an explanation of why a given candidate was rejected.

[Answer] That is not true. The provincial caucuses must consult each of the candidates and act under pressure of electoral meetings. According to the law, the caucus must examine every accusation, every doubt regarding a candidate. The caucuses must take into consideration the opinions of candidates expressed at meetings.

[Question] But they have to do so to a lesser degree now than was the case during last year's elections to the people's councils, when a meeting of voters could lead to the rejection of a candidate.

[Answer] In the case of the elections to the people's councils the situation was entirely different. The electoral meeting for the people's councils often consisted of the whole voting precinct. Obviously, if that group did not accept a candidate for the council, he would simply lose the election. In the Sejm elections the situation is totally different. Electoral districts include whole provinces. So a meeting of voters cannot be given the right to reject a candidate, since such a meeting could represent only a small fraction of the total number of voters.

[Question] Voter turnout is still a very controversial issue. What are the prospects for the future?

[Answer] The outlook is good. I think there is even a chance that the turnout will be higher than for last year's elections to the people's councils.

[Question] About 75 percent of qualified voters participated in last year's elections. Isn't your optimism exaggerated?

[Answer] I don't think so. Voter turnout, of course, depends on the mood of the public. That mood deteriorated somewhat at the beginning of this year due to price increases, but it is gradually improving. Let me also point out that in the elections to the people's councils, the electoral law excluded about 5 percent of the qualified voters, i.e. citizens who were abroad or on business trips away from their place of residence, etc. Now those 5 percent can be included. In this question I am an optimist.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

9970

CSO: 2600/1032

POLAND

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by (mal): "Session of Katowice Province Defense Committee" under the rubric "Chronicle of the Region"]

[Text] Yesterday in Katowice was held a regular session of the Province Defense Committee. Its deliberations were chaired by the Katowice Province Governor Tadeusz Wnuk. The subject of the meeting was the status of the warehousing base and the development of the agricultural and food industry in Katowice Province.

It was found that the warehousing base in Katowice Province still is not adequate and requires continued expansion. By the end of this month trade organizations in Katowice Province shall submit a program for improvements in warehousing capacity, chiefly intended to modernize the existing facilities. The Committee also considered the situation in the processing industry, that is, in the bakery, dairy, meat, fats and refrigeration industries.

Representatives of such trade organizations as the Province Enterprise for Interior Commerce (WHPW), The Wholesale Food Trade Enterprise and the Province Association of Gmina Agricultural Cooperatives and Refrigerated Warehouses discussed the status and capacity of the warehousing base and the investment projects undertaken to improve it. The session of the Province Defense Committee adopted the decision that, in addition to the industry developing in Silesia, special priority should also be given to the agricultural and food industry, in accordance with the decision of last year's circuit session of the Government Presidium held in Katowice.

It was resolved that, by the end of September, the directors of agricultural and food enterprises shall submit a specific program for investments in this industrial subsector. It was also determined that conditions should be provided for the on-schedule completion of the SLASK Dairy in Tychy and the supermarket in Sosnowiec, the continued construction of the warehousing facilities of the WHPW in Zaleze, the resumption of the conversion of the Poultry Factory in Tarnowskie Gory and the construction of refrigeration plants in Bedzin and Tychy. The Committee also considered the sociopolitical situation and the condition of public order and security in the province.

1386  
CSO: 2600/1003

POLAND

ACADEMY RECTOR DISCUSSES SECRET SERVICES MONUMENT

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-22 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Professor Tadeusz Walichnowski, rector of the Internal Affairs Academy by Jerzy Salecki: "Monument for Remembrance and Reflection". Date and place not given]

[Text] Every monument reminds present times of those past and teaches the history of our nation which has sometimes been hard, bitter and painful. At the same time, it is perhaps because of this that every monument makes one reflect on the history of the state and nation and inspires thought about the present and future.

On 20 July, the monument "To Those Fallen in the Service and Defense of people's Poland" in Warsaw will be dedicated.

Let us start with the first question: that of the lesson of history. In the years 1944-1948, the period of the struggle for consolidation of popular rule, more than 12,000 members of the Citizen's Militia [MO], Security Service, Volunteer Reserve of Citizen's Militia and Polish Army were killed by the reactionary underground and Ukrainian Partisan Army bands while defending the state, its institutions and public property from the common enemy. To this list of the fallen, we must add about 10,000 civilians and activists of democratic parties, above all, members of the Polish Worker's Party, Democratic Party, the Union of Young Fighters, Youth Organization of the Society of Worker's Universities and the Rural Youth Union, members of the union and cooperative movements as well as politically neutral civilians. They died building a framework of popular rule, participating in agrarian reform, rebuilding our devastated nation, creating work places, opening destroyed schools and public utilities. They died while working to bring about historical social and political transformations and to consolidate and defend the new rule of the workers and peasants. It is therefore a fact that no less than 22,000 Poles died defending the new state during the first 5 years after the war.

The fallen deserve to be remembered. This monument is not being erected by the government or the Ministry of Internal Affairs but by the public. Public funds were gathered and people put in extra work to provide the money for this monument. Member of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy and veterans of those most difficult years took a substantial role in the building of this monument.

[Question] In your richly documented book\*, you described this period as a "...fratricidal struggle including elements of a civil war...".

[Answer] That is just why these years were so difficult. It was not only the destruction, the immeasurable labor to rebuild and the losses in population and public property but the division of society in 1944-1948 into two camps, one of which supported the new state while the other opposed, often with arms, the historical changes. During these years, nearly 100,000 people belonging to illegal political organizations or armed groups took part in the struggle for popular rule and about 8000 died. We must remember these figures because they are another measure of the difficulties of those times. It is quite significant that analysis of the class background of those who fell in defense of People's Poland shows that the majority were workers or peasants. These are the classes that provided representatives of certain echelons of government, above all the members of the organs of public safety and the MO. At the same time, the underground opposing popular rule was most often formed from peasants and far fewer workers and intellectuals. These peasants, often with no or little land, farm workers and petty officials who were also often illiterates struggled against a government that gave them their land and social mobility and fulfilled their age-old dreams and the needs voiced for years by the people's movement. Let us say outright that it was not only the great capitalists and landowners that took up arms and inspired this reactionary struggle but also simple people.

[Question] What was it that made this a "peasant war"?

[Answer] To a large degree, this was due to the inspiration of the so-called London group and the political and ideological inspiration of forces hostile not only to socialist but to democratic changes in reborn Poland. The emigree politicians and those within Poland representing the interests of the bourgeoisie and landowners and yearning to take power cynically abused the trust of thousands of their followers during the occupation fed on their lack of knowledge and experience and even their naivete. Indeed, it was in those years that false and slanderous slogans were bandied about claiming that the new government planned to liquidate Poland's independence, "shared property of women", "forced" collectivization of arms, liquidation of churches, etc. "Patriotic " slogans were thrown around but at the same time, the opposition did not hesitate to force many people to stay "in the forests", supposedly "for the cause" and in the name of civil duty and discipline. The reactionary camp was strongly supported by the governments of the United States and Great Britain which were interested in restoring a bourgeois Poland. Mikolajczyk and the Polish Peasant Party were supposed to be the Trojan horse within the official structure of the government and an armed underground movement in the countryside were the "trumps" that these foreign powers hoped to use.

\*T. Walichnowski: "U zrodel walk z podziemiem reakcyjnym w Polsce" [The sources of the struggle against the reactionary underground in Poland], KiW, 1975, 1984.

[Question] They did not succeed in this due to millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals -- citizens who supported the new government and state.

[Answer] Due to millions of working people, 22,000 of which died in defense of People's Poland. It is to them that we are erecting this monument, a monument for memory and reflection that is dedicated to past years and should help us contemplate today's affairs. It was together with the Soviet Army that the Polish People's Army came from out of the East. It was these soldiers who vowed on the Oka to repeat the victory of Grunwald. They later planted their red-and-white standards in Berlin and along with their powerful allies ground into dust Germanism and age-old German imperialism. Together with the Polish army fighting its way into Poland, a new spirit came into the new liberated lands for which the entire left wing had struggled during the night of German occupation. Poland was reborn within borders on the Baltic, Neisse and Oder. The clear program of the PPR, a reform program embodied in the July Manifest, drew the support of most of the people. The postulated and implemented reforms were logical, obvious and necessary. From the ranks of the political losers appeared those who would take up a struggle against the people's government. The methods used by the leaders of the reactionary underground are the strongest proof of their class blindness and lack of political reality. The entire nation paid for this with the lives of those 22,000 who died defending People's Poland as well as 8000 of their opponents.

We are now erecting this monument in memory of these times not to satisfy primitive pride, or bask in triumph or gloat. This monument should make people think about the times when a Pole "from the forest" shot another Pole defending the new state. Why did this happen, in whose interests was it and for what cause? Who gained anything from this? Our destroyed country, our ruined fatherland, our people who had already lost 6 million lives to the German criminals?

Here is another question. It is a patriotic duty to reinforce and improve the government, our own Polish government or to oppose it and weaken our own state?

The monument is supposed to honor the memory of those who stood up to defend the greatest values of our socialist fatherland and who gave their lives to defend the new life, popular rule, social and economic change, new borders, Poland's new alliance, revolution in all areas of life and the ideals of social justice. The monument is supposed to warn us against a historical thinking and to remind us that regressive forces trying to oppose the laws of history, social development, progress and the class desires of the working people must always fail.

[Question] The last 40 years of People's Poland has shown how lasting the changes have been, has documented the permanence and magnitude of these changes and also shown how correct was the program of the Polish left-wing and communist leadership.

[Answer] In summing up everything we have achieved, we must also be aware that nothing has been given us for good and nothing is changeless. We must be careful every day to preserve our achievements and remember that our future

development will be decided by the shared work and efforts of all citizens. It is easy to lose everything if we allow ourselves to be manipulated by those who wish bad things for socialist Poland and exploit our weaknesses, emotions naive or ignorance. For 40 years, Poles have lived in peace in a country with lasting borders. In spite of all difficulties, they have rebuilt their home and a socialist fatherland and strengthened their fraternity with friends and allies. We live together. We must work together to strengthen Polish statehood and build our country. We do not need quarrels and internal struggles that hurt Poland and Poles. In 1944-1948, we learned many things so let the new monument remind us of that.

12261

CSO: 2600/991

POLAND

PZPR ACTIVITIES CALENDAR FOR 13-26 MAY 1985

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 6 Jun 85 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Party Chronicle, 13-26 May 1985"]

[Text] Nineteenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee:

13-14 May

The 19th plenary session of the Central Committee deliberated in Warsaw.

The agenda for those days included:

-- a report from the Politburo on "The Place and tasks of the Intelligentsia in the Socialist Development of Poland," presented by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek;

-- discussion;

-- organizational matters.

The Central Committee adopted a resolution and a declaration concerning international affairs. The concluding address was delivered by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Politburo Sessions:

21 May

The Politburo:

-- evaluated the sociopolitical and economic situation in the Lodz and Legnica provinces. It also considered proposals for party work ensuing from province reports conferences;

-- considered a report on the activities of workforce self-government;

-- examined the program and organizational assumptions for the 20th plenary session of the Central Committee concerning intraparty matters. It resolved to

convoke the 20th plenary session of the Central Committee in the second decade of this coming June;

-- listened to a report on the working visit of the Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to Poland;

-- considered the results of the official visit to Poland of the party-state delegation of the Afghan Democratic Republic headed by the Secretary General of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the ADR Babrak Karmal.

#### Conferences and Meetings:

15 May

-- The Central Committee's International Commission considered the status and prospects of relations between the PRL and the developing countries. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski.

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Public Health and Environmental Protection considered the current situation and intentions as regards improving the sanitary conditions of the country. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Stanislaw Opalko.

-- The Central Committee's Commission on Social Policy, chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk, analyzed the dynamics of the wage ratio in the socialized economy and the assumptions of the central wages policy for the years 1986-1990.

-- In connection with the 25th anniversary of the weekly FORUM Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk and Vice Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with the periodical's editorial team.

16 May

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Economic Reform and Policy evaluated the experience so far in applying the economic reform and formulated guideposts for strengthening the operating system of the economy in the years 1986-1990. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

17 May

-- First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received Boualem Baki, a member of the Politburo of the Central Front for Popular Liberation and Algeria's minister of justice.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in a meeting of students of a postgraduate seminar on knowledge about the USSR and Polish-Soviet Relations, held in the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship. It dealt with the actual sociopolitical situation, with special considerations of the topics of the 19th Central Committee Plenum.



16-18 May

-- A party-state delegation from the Afghan Democratic Republic, headed by the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Chairman of the ADR Revolutionary Council Babrak Karmal, visited Poland.

18 May

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received Stefan Jedrychowski on the occasion of the latter's 75th birthday. The birthday celebrant was handed a letter of congratulations from First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

20 May

-- The Central Committee's Agricultural Commission discussed the implementation so far of the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee. Its deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

-- In connection with the 35th anniversary of the newspaper SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, a session of the editorial collegium was attended by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk.

-- Jan Glowczyk received a delegation from NODONG STAMUN, the newspaper of the Central Committee of the Korean Labor Party, headed by its editor-in-chief Kim Gi Nam, during its sojourn in Poland.

22 May

-- First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski met with representatives of the young intelligentsia--inventors, rationalizers and creators of culture. The meeting was attended by members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee: Jozef Czyrek, Tadeusz Porebski and Waldemar Swirgon, as well as by the Director of the Central Committee's Department for Youth Leszek Miller.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a delegation of the Italian Peasant Confederation headed by its chairman Giuseppe Avolio, an activist of the Italian Socialist Party. Vice Chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee Jozef Kukulka took part in the conversation.

-- Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon met with Vladimir Zhivkov, vice chairman of the Committee for Culture, People's Republic of Bulgaria.

22-23 May

-- The Central Committee's Youth Commission discussed in Wloclawek the participation of youth in implementing the economic reform. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Tadeusz Czechowicz.

-- The Central Committee's Mining Commission held a session in Walbrzych. It discussed problems of the safety of labor of mine crews and environmental protection and formulated opinions on the draft of the 1986 Central Annual Plan.

23 May

-- Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski, while meeting in Torun with more than 300 province activists, evaluated the current international situation and, against this background, presented the tasks of Polish foreign policy. S. Olszowski also met with party and trade-union aktiv at the STOMIL Tire Plant in Grudziadz.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski received the finalists in the Olympiad of Knowledge About the Party organized in Lublin Province.

24 May

-- A festive concert was given at the Grand Theatre in Warsaw in connection with the annual Holiday of Labor. The festive concert was attended by First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee Roman Malinowski, Speaker of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, CKR [Central Party Audit Commission] Chairman Kazimierz Morawski, Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Waldemar Swirgon.

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party Karoli Grosz during his sojourn in Warsaw as the head of a delegation from Hungary's capital. Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak was present at the talks.

-- The Central Committee's Intraparty Commission considered a report on party membership and its class composition. In addition, the Commission accepted a plan of activities for the second half of the year. Its deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and attended by Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus.

24-25 May

-- A conference of first secretaries of PZPR province committees was held. It was attended by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski as well as by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

25 May

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski attended a conference of WRN [Province People's Councils] chairmen in Jadwistna near Warsaw.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Marian Orzechowski met with participants in a seminar of party historians who discussed for 2 days the tasks of historical science in the light of the directives of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee.

26 May

-- Central celebrations of the annual Holiday of Labor were held in Rzeszow. At the festive rally of peasants in the stadium of the "Stal" Steelplant Sports Committee the leadership of the PZPR was represented by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

15 May

-- At a joint session the Czestochowa Province committees of the PZPR and ZSL evaluated the implementation of agricultural policies in the province as outlined by the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. The deliberations were attended by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in the ceremony of awarding a banner to the Inowroclaw community in connection with the 300th anniversary of the city.

16 May

-- The Sieradz Province PZPR Committee, at a session attended by the WKR [Province Party Audit Commission] and the WKKP [Province Party Control Commission], discussed the tasks of the province party organization in resolving the problems raised in letters, complaints and requests for intercession addressed to party echelons and offices. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Albin Siwak and the Director of the Office for Letters and Audits under the Central Committee Marian Kot.

-- The Suwalki Province Central Committee evaluated the status of housing construction in the province.

17 May

-- The Radom Province Central Committee evaluated the performance of the reform in the province's economy. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb.

-- On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of DZIENNIK BALTYCKI Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger met with the newspaper's editorial team. The Council of State conferred on DZIENNIK BALTYCKI the Officer's Cross of the OOP.

20 May

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak attended a plenary session of the Zgierz City PZPR Committee and received complaints from the city's inhabitants.

22 May

-- The Poznan Province PZPR Committee discussed tasks of implementing the main principles of cultural policy in the province. Its deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus.

-- The Zamosc Province PZPR Committee evaluated the deployment of the party's forces in the province and the directions of work to develop the party and strengthen its worker-peasant nature.

-- The Skierniewice Province PZPR Committee outlined measures to be taken by party echelons and organizations to promote production quality, conservation and technological progress in the region's industry.

23 May

-- The Ciechanow Province PZPR Committee discussed the role and tasks of education in rearing the rising generation. Its deliberations were attended by the Director of the Department for Science and Education under the Central Committee Bronislaw Ratus.

24 May

-- The Gorzow Wielkopolski Province PZPR Committee discussed the effect of socialist youth unions on shaping the attitudes and behavior of youth.

-- The Kielce Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of tasks relating to technological progress and the role of the technical intelligentsia in the economic reform.

-- The Opole Province PZPR Committee outlined tasks for party echelons and organizations and state and economic administrations as regards developing the production of consumer goods.

Interparty Cooperation:

14-21 May

-- Poland was visited by Prof Tihomir Vlaskovic, a member of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, chairman of the Federal Council for the Sociopolitical System of the Socialist Federated Republic of

Yugoslavia and lecturer for the Yugoslav Communist Party. T. Vlaskovic was received by Candidate Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Marian Orzechowski and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

20-21 May

-- In Moscow was held a conference of secretaries of the central committees of communist and worker parties for economic affairs from CEMA member countries. The PZPR was represented at the conference by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

22-24 May

-- Poland was visited by Secretary General of the Iraqi Communist Party Aziz Muhammed. The Iraqi guest met with Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

23 May

-- Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Department under the Central Committee Bogumil Sujka met in Rome with Politburo Member and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian CP Giancarlo Pajetta and Director of the Foreign Affairs Department under the Central Committee of the Italian CP Antonio Rubbi. The scope and forms of further cooperation between the PZPR and the Italian CP were discussed.

1386

CSO: 2600/828

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR: 27 MAY-9 JUN 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Party Chronicle: 27 May-9 June 1985"]

[Text] Politburo Sessions:

4 June

The Politburo:

-- considered a report on the implementation of the "Main Assumptions of Cadre Policy of the PZPR," adopted at the 13th Central Committee Plenum;

-- examined the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum concerning letters and complaints addressed to party elements;

-- made a preliminary assessment of the implementation of the decree of October 1984 concerning the party's influence on enhancing the effectiveness of control.

The Politburo considered and accepted the report on "Problems of Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Political-Organizational Work of the Party" for the 20th Central Committee Plenum. It resolved to convene the 20th Central Committee Plenum on 12 and 13 June of this year.

The Politburo was briefed on the course and results of the conference of economic secretaries of the central committees of the parties of CEMA member countries held in Moscow toward the end of last May, and it evaluated the course and results of the National Party-Economic Conference in Poznan.

Conferences and Meetings:

27 May

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Editor Yves Moreau, a political commentator for L'HUMANITE, the newspaper of the French Communist Party.

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Culture discussed the conditions under which plastic artists perform their work and plastic creativity is developed. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak.

28 May

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek attended the deliberations of the 5th Plenum of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee, which discussed the role and tasks of the ZSL in nurturing civic attitudes and strengthening the processes of socialist renewal.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak met with students from the Postgraduate Center for Training Employees of the State Administration.

29 May

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Member of the Council of State and Deputy to the Sejm Kazimierz Morawski, the chairman of the Christian Social Association.

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations for the 19th Central Committee Plenum held a session. This commission is authorized to continue its work and submit to the 21st Central Committee Plenum a longrange plan for implementing the resolution concerning the intelligentsia. Its deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

-- In connection with the 35th anniversary of the Office for Religious Denominations, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski met with its personnel.

30 May

-- A session of the Presidium of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] was held to discuss the verdicts of the province and local party control commissions pronounced during the first 4 months of this year. The deliberations were chaired by CKKP Chairman Jerzy Urbanski.

-- The Academy of Social Sciences held a Polish-Soviet seminar on the leading and guiding role of the party in the socialist society. The Soviet scientists participating in the seminar, headed by First Deputy Director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism, Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, Prof Pyotr Rodionov, were received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Prof Marian Orzechowski. The members of the delegation also met with the Director of the Information Department Jerzy Majka.

31 May

-- During his visit to Poznan First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski toured the H. CEGIELSKI Metals Industry Works and inspected the working conditions of the crew. W. Jaruzelski was accompanied by

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Kalkus, Manfred Gorywoda, Zbigniew Szalajda and the heads of the city and the province. The First Central Committee Secretary also visited the inmates of the State Home for Children on Pamiatkowa Street, on the eve of the Day of the Child.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski took part in the deliberations of the General Assembly of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

1 June

-- The two-day National Party-Economic Conference in Poznan was ended. Its deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, who also delivered the concluding address. On the first day of the deliberations the participants listened to reports from Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and Minister Wladyslaw Baka. The discussion, both plenary and within teams, was summed up by Politburo Member Vice Premier Zbigniew Messner.

The conference was attended by the following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Tadeusz Czechowicz, Zofia Grzyb, Stanislaw Kalkus, Zbigniew Messner, Stanislaw Opalko, Marian Wozniak, Stanislaw Bejgier and Zbigniew Michalek.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo Jan Glowczyk and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski attended the 14th General Meeting of Delegates of the Christian Social Association.

2 June

-- First Central Committee Secretary Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski viewed the anniversary plastic arts exhibition "Roads to Victory" at the Zachecie Gallery.

3 June

-- The daily L'HUMANITE, the newspaper of the French Communist Party, published an extensive interview with First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski.

-- The Central Committee's Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Government considered an assessment of the performance of the self-government bodies of SPOLEM [cooperatives] and the activism of the party members in these bodies. The commission also considered a proposal for updating the decree on trade unions.

Inasmuch as the heretofore chairman of that commission Zbigniew Messner has become chairman of another Central Committee commission, the post of the chairman of the Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Government was entrusted to Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.



5 June

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski participated in a plenary session of the Central Audit Commission. The commission discussed the effectiveness of party work as based on the assessments and experience of party audit commissions so far. The session was also attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and the following directors of Central Committee departments: Antoni Gorny, Wladyslaw Honkisz, Wladyslaw Loranc and Jerzy Majka.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk handed Ludwik Warynski prizes to three writers and eight scientists selected by a jury.

6 June

-- First Central Committee Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Chairman of the All-Polish Consensus of Trade Unions Alfred Miodowicz.

7 June

-- In connection with the 40th anniversary of the Frontier Troops Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of Internal Affairs Gen of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak received Frontier Troops representatives headed by Frontier Troops Commander Brig Gen Feliks Stramik.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received First Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Communist Party of Cuba Rafael Polanco, during the latter's visit to Poland.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski received a group of first secretaries of PZPR committees at educational institutions who had toured the USSR at the invitation of the Department of Science and Education under the CPSU Central Committee.

8 June

Under the chairmanship of Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski the Central Committee held the inaugural session of the editorial committee for preparing for publication "Collected Writings" of Wladyslaw Gomulka.

9 June

-- Politburo Member and Secretary Jozef Czyrek attended the All-Polish Meeting of Young PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Activists.

At Party Echelons and Organizations

27 May

-- The Zielona Gora Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization in implementing the resolutions of the 19th

Central Committee Plenum. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

-- The Lodz PZPR Committee discussed changes in and directions of development of culture in the province. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee Tadeusz Czechowicz and attended by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk attended the inaugural meeting of the series of national meetings of regional-press journalists organized in Ustka III.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski attended a session on the topic of advanced skills training centers and their role in the education and economy of the Western Territories, held in Szczecin.

28 May

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger met with a delegation of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Delegates during its sojourn in the Tri-City [Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot].

29 May

-- The Katowice Province PZPR Committee discussed the implementation of Resolutions of the 19th Central Committee Plenum with respect to conditions in the Silesian Region. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member Jerzy Romanik and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

30 May

-- The Slupsk Province PZPR Committee discussed the role and tasks of the intelligentsia in the province's socioeconomic development. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski attended a meeting of the senates and aktiv of the Czestochowa Polytechnic and the Higher Teacher Training School in Czestochowa at which the accomplishments and development problems of both institutions were discussed.

1 June

-- Politburo Member Stanislaw Opalko attended the central celebrations of the Day of the Chemist held in Tomaszow Mazowiecki.

3 June

-- The Lublin Province PZPR Committee, at a session held jointly with the Province Party Audit Commission and the Province Party Control Commission, discussed the tasks of the basic party organizations in the electoral campaign

for the PRL Sejm. The plenum elected Andrzej Szpringer, the incumbent province committee secretary, to the post of first secretary of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski and the Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

-- The Lomza Province PZPR Committee held a joint circuit session with the province's party audit commission and party control commission at the Fiberboard Plant in Grajewo with the object of discussing improvements in the style and methods of work of party echelons and organizations.

5 June

-- The Koszalin Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the Koszalin intelligentsia following the 19th Central Committee Plenum. The deliberations were attended by Politburo Member and [Central Committee] Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek officiated at the awarding of the Cross of the Commander of the Order of Poland's Rebirth to the Province and Municipal Public Library in Koszalin.

-- The Legnica Province PZPR Committee analyzed the economic effectiveness of the enterprises in the Copper Basin.

8 June

-- The Gdansk Province PZPR Committee examined the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum concerning complaints, suggestions and letters from citizens and evaluated the implementation of the post-inspection recommendations of the Main Territorial Inspectorate. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger and attended by Politburo Member Albin Siwak.

-- The Wloclawek Province PZPR Committee discussed the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum by the province's party echelons and organizations.

-- The celebration of the 35th anniversary of establishment of the Petroleum Refinery in Jedlicz, Krosno Province, at which the refinery was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor First Class and named the Wladyslaw Gomulka Refinery, was attended by the Politburo members Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and First Secretary of the Tarnow Province PZPR Committee Stanislaw Opalko, as well as by the province heads.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

-- The GDR was visited by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Prof Marian Orzechowski. He met with the Politburo member and SEPD Central Committee Secretary Kurt Hager. M. Orzechowski was

also received by the students and faculty of the Karl Marx Higher Party School under the SEPD Central Committee.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak paid a visit to Polish crews working in the USSR. A. Siwak handed medals of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland to 10 persons who distinguished themselves in collecting funds for the acquisition of medical equipment for Polish health service centers.

-- The Korean People's Democratic Republic was toured by a delegation of NOWE DROGI headed by Editor-in-Chief Stanislaw Wronski. The delegation was received by the Politburo Member and KLP [Korean Labor Party] Central Committee Secretary Ho Dam.

1386

CSO: 2600/890

POLAND

ELECTION CALENDAR FOR JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1985

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] Election Calendar

Date the Election Activity  
is Performed

Nature of the Activity

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By 15 June 1985	Promulgation of the Decree of the Council of Ministers Ordering Elections to the PRL Sejm
By 23 June 1985	Promulgation of the resolution of the Council of State concerning the number of deputies to be elected from the national electoral roster
	Appointment of the State Electoral Commission
	Publicizing among voters the resolution of the Council of State on the number of election regions, their boundaries and numbers, the number of deputies to be elected from discrete regions and the seats of regional electoral commissions.
By 28 June 1985	The Council of State to be notified about the formation of province electoral conventions.
By 5 July 1985	Appointment of regional electoral commissions.
19 August 1985	Notifying voters about the resolutions of presidiums of basic-level people's councils concerning the numbers and boundaries of polling districts and the seats of district electoral commissions.

Date the Election Activity  
is Performed

Nature of Activity

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By 29 August 1985

Appointment of district electoral commissions

By 13 September 1985

Submission of election lists for registration  
along with declarations of acceptance of  
candidacy by candidates for deputies.

15 September 1985

Posting of voters' registers for public  
viewing.

23 September 1985

Publicizing among voters personalia on  
candidates for deputies.

1386

CSO: 2600/848

POLAND

SATIRICAL BLAST AT EXCUSES, INEFFICIENCIES

Warsaw SZPILKI in Polish No 29, 18 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Sobczak and Szpak: "In Lieu"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in original text]

[Text]                      Complications:  
Reform makes people rich!  
Signature: Counterreformists

Edward Kuczynski

In its 17 June [1985] issue TRYBUNA LUDU, in the article "The Anti-Corrosion Revelation is Beginning to Rust," rends its garments over the failure to start manufacturing the excellent anti-corrosives that had been conceived by our scientists as far back as in 1976. So far, the failure to apply superior means of corrosion protection has cost, e.g., the construction industry about 250 billion zlotys in losses due to corrosion. Unfortunately, so far no one has been willing to attend to this matter more closely, although definite interest has been shown by West European companies. And so on, and so forth, etc.

We are amazed at the editors of TRYBUNA LUDU for feeling so irritated, aggravated and even wrathful anent this matter. As for us, it is long since instances of this kind have caused us to lose our cool. Besides, we already have written of similar cases. Given this attitude on the part of our respected fellow journalists, we do not advise them to delve more closely into similar matters concerning other domains of our economy, because such a sudden confrontation with hundreds of identical instances might cause a shock, if not a sudden heart attack, to a person with a delicate psychophysical constitution. Likewise, there is no need to identify those responsible for the existing situations, because perhaps then the conclusion would be that, e.g., the manager or the brigade leader overlooked something, the workers ignored it and the engineer disregarded it.... We rather are inclined to pose the question of where were the ministry authorities at the moment of the birth of an idea, an invention, a labor-saving notion, the more so considering that the inventions we are discussing concern more than one company department or research laboratory. Our question is, where are the authorities at the moment when a sensational patent is transferred abroad owing to the lack of domestic interest? For quite often we are surprised to find that what we are paying for

in hard currency had originated in Poland. Only then inquiries begin to be made as to how such a situation could have happened. Let us not kid ourselves: no one will sit down and ponder improving or inventing something in order to be rewarded for it with a bonus of, say, 3,000 zlotys when he can have his idea patented and sold to the West for a pile of dollars and royalties. Our entire system for rewarding inventors and rationalizers is designed to prompt persons who potentially could create a great deal of good to sit with folded hands, because either the game is not worth the candle, as in the case described at the outset of this article, or all their efforts go down the drain.

In this place, of a certainty, some expert on the practical application of research is going to interject that this is not so simple, that it takes time to consider, examine, conceptualize, analyze, assimilate, consult..../Stop!!! PRR!!!/ We know, we know. For us in Poland nothing is straight, not even wire. For us in Poland /everything has to be complicated/. This enhances the importance of the decisionmaker and makes all see how he deftly moves through the thicket of idiocies. Any other man in his place would have lost his sanity a long time ago, but he, if you please, is healthy, full of pep and impervious to rust... because he is wooden.

P.S. Sometimes hope lies with termites.

1386

CSO: 2600/1003



8 October 1985

POLAND

INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION OF POLISH ACADEMIA SUFFERS, SAYS EX-RECTOR

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 26 Jun 85 pp 1,4

[Interview with Prof Mieczyslaw Klimaszewski by Izabela Pieczara: "An Intellectual is a Thinking Man"]

[Text] [Inset] Prof Mieczyslaw Klimaszewski is an eminent Polish scientist of world renown, a geographer, a former rector of Jagiellonian University and the recipient of honorary doctorates from seven universities. In addition, he is a former vice chairman of the Council of State, a former chairman of the Krakow Committee of the National Unity Front and a public activist who has for the past 2 weeks acted as chairman of the Krakow Branch of "Polonia."

[Question] Professor, there was a period in your life when you wore simultaneously several hats. Among other things, you were the rector of Jagiellonian University and deputy chairman of the Council of State, without at the same time ceasing to work as a scientist and lecturer. In 1972 you declared, "The authorities gave up on me." Was that "resignation" a great disappointment to us?

[Answer] No. It even gratified me, because I could return to undisturbed scientific work.

[Question] Let's consider the beginnings of your political activity. How did you happen to get elected to the Council of State?

[Answer] I believe that the 600th anniversary of the University was a factor in this. As the prorector I was co-organizer of the anniversary festivities. The rector at the time was Prof Kazimierz Lepszy, who had been ailing for several months. Hence also a considerable part of work to arrange the festivities fell to my lot. I was helped by my colleagues, particularly by prof Kazimierz Wyka. The celebrations of the 600th anniversary of Jagiellonian University were magnified by the presence of representatives of the highest state authorities. Wladyslaw Gomulka attended, and so did a former student at Jagiellonian University, Jozef Cyrankiewicz. The anniversary produced an echo throughout the world. Following the festivities I learned that the authorities liked it very much that I was not humiliated [as

published] and represented Jagiellonian University in a worthy manner. The idea was conceived of entrusting to me the post of vice chairman of the Council of State. I accepted this nomination. That was an explicit homage to the splendid Almae Matrix, and not just to me personally. It was seemly for the central authorities to include someone representing such a famous university.

[Question] What work was entrusted to you at the Council of State?

[Answer] I belonged to two commissions: academic titles and citizenship. I was the chairman of the Commission for Academic Nominations. I was very selective in approving candidates for professors. Clearly, many people didn't like it. At times we rejected as many as 30 percent of the nominees. When I consider what is happening nowadays, this openhanded dispensation of professorial appointments, I feel terrified. They are granted to persons who lack any substantial academic accomplishments. Besides, the results of this profligacy are visible by now: it is increasingly often said that science in Poland does not stand at a high level.

[Question] Professor, do you agree with these accusations?

[Answer] Unfortunately, yes. They apply especially to the scientific accomplishments and scientists in recent years.

[Question] Professor, ultimately not everyone can be like you the recipient of honorary directorates from seven universities, including Jena, Kiev, Alliance College in Cambridge Springs, United States, and Uppsala, as well as the second after the well-known explorer Strzelecki -- and the only representative of East Europe -- to be awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographic Society in London.

[Answer] Perhaps just because of the course my life has taken I have the right to speak loudly and openly of the decline in the academic level. I'm not exaggerating a bit. The fate of Polish science is under a question mark. This also applies to Polish intelligentsia....

[Question] Do you mean to say that the intelligentsia is on the decline?

[Answer] In a sense, yes. After all, the semi-intelligentsia is increasingly often mentioned.

[Question] Your comments are disturbing and produce pessimism. Is there a great difference between the intelligentsia of your days and the present-day intelligentsia?

[Answer] The difference is considerable. My generation lived through two world wars and was raised in the spirit of responsibility, respect for work and civic activism. The present-day intelligentsia has had no such experiences. At most, it experienced the end of World War II. Nowadays there are no longer such figures as, e.g., the professors Siedlecki and Szafer. I'm aware that what I say is unpopular, but unfortunately these are the facts. I didn't invent them.

[Question] In your opinion, what are the causes of the "semi-intelligentsia-ization" of the society?

[Answer] They lie in the upbringing of youth and the mistakes made in that respect.

[Question] Professor, what measures would you then suggest to restore the health of the Polish intelligentsia?"

[Answer] The prescriptions are many, but they are still too "weak" and don't produce any great effect. Recently I attended a session on the subject of the intelligentsia. The participants discussed who should be included in that stratum -- those who have completed higher education or those who exercise particular functions. However, the word 'culture' was not once been uttered. That topic was not considered at all. The answer to the basic question, who should be included in the intelligentsia, remained uncertain. How then can a prescription for curing the intelligentsia be found when there is neither a definition nor criteria that should be met by persons pretending to that appellation?

[Question] And how do you yourself define a member of the intelligentsia?

[Answer] To be sure, I'm not a sociologist, but I have my own personal definition. I believe that a member of the intelligentsia is a thinking person. It is not important whether he has a higher educational background. He should be a person who distinguishes himself by his culture, feeling of responsibility and awareness of the consequences of his actions. Unfortunately we still have too few such people.

[Question] In your opinion, in today's world does much indeed depend on the members of the intelligentsia?

[Answer] I would ask whether anything at all depends on them.... It seems to me that they, let alone the intellectuals, have never had a great say. They haven't enjoyed too much respect. Soon the Congress of Intellectuals will take place. It is too early to predict what results it will produce, because the proposals are not many. I believe that, above all, intellectuals should warn the world against the consequences of the threat of annihilation, of the destruction of mankind. The question remains, will anyone listen to them?

[Question] Professor, you haven't yet commented on the subject of geography, but you are a scientist of world renown, an eminent geographer, the author of dozens of interesting publications and original solutions, such as those contained in your book "Geomorfologia" [Geomorphology], which includes information on the geomorphology of even... the Moon. Do you consider that work to be the most important of your scientific accomplishments?

[Answer] My life's work is "Rzezba Tatr" [The Morphology of the Tatra Mountains]. I think that it also represents a homage that I wanted to pay to my beloved Tatras. They have been a wonderful laboratory to me. I watched over their inviolability and boundaries while heading the Scientific Council

for the Tatra National Park. For a long time now the Tatras have been overcrowded, and additional thousands of tourists and skiers will totally and irreversibly destroy their beauty. I recall images of the Tatras from my childhood: menacing, pristine areas. I used to be taken along for hikes to the Tatras by my father Leopold Wegrzynowicz, the founder of the naturalist-hiking movement, who spread among youth love for Polish nature. That is how my great adventure in geography had begun. My father, a highschool professor of physics and mathematics, died when I was 6. But he had had the time to inculcate in me qualities of industriousness, honesty and thoroughness. As I grew up I attempted to stay true to these qualities, both in academe and in the Council of State.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

1386

CSO: 2600/1003

8 October 1985

## POLAND

## COMMENTARY ON HIGHER EDUCATION LAW

## Education Minister Defends Higher Education

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Belerski (PAP): "The Tasks of Higher Education: Comments by Minister Benon Miskiewicz"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface in original text]

[Text] When the Sejm voted a package of bills concerning higher education, this ended many months of discussion of its future shape. Consider that early this year an assessment of the status of higher education, conducted by the Socio- Political Committee of the Council of Ministers, was published. It also contained recommendations concerning the need for and scope of the updating of the decree on higher education. The PAP journalist was briefed about these changes and new legal provisions by the Minister of Science and Higher Education Benon Miskiewicz.

"Drafts for updating the following decrees have been voted: the decree on higher education, the decree on academic ranks and titles. In addition, the draft of a new decree on the Office of the Minister of Science and Higher Education has been voted. All these drafts are subordinated to one paramount goal, that of utilizing more fully than in the past the potential of the academic and science communities for the socioeconomic development of our country. They presume at the same time the maintenance of democratic and self-government forms of the management of institutions of higher education. They do not violate the political guarantees contained in the resolution and documents of the Ninth PZPR Congress concerning the scope and forms of self-government in the academic community.

"/It seems to us that it will now be possible to integrate fully higher educational institutions into the social, economic and cultural life of our nation and state./ While the recent original decree had been in force, the research, educational and upbringing functions of these institutions manifestly weakened and the social function of higher education, which is decisive to the role and place of academic communities in the life of the society and state, became imperceptibly relegated to a secondary plane.

"During the years 1981-1984 the growth rate of academic personnel, as measured in terms of degrees and titles earned and the quality of degree dissertations, clearly slowed down. These processes have been paralleled by a decline in the teaching loads of higher-education faculty owing to the declining enrollment. Higher schools occupy a special position in the development of Polish science, culture, economy and technological progress. That position primarily ensues from the fact that an overwhelming majority of the best qualified individuals is concentrated in higher schools. Yet, the number of completed dissertations has declined. In 1982 it exceeded 10,500, in 1983, slightly more than 7,000, and last year it was only 6,300.

"/The activism of an academic community also is measured by the extent to which its research accomplishments correspond to its creative potential and the resources allocated to it for that purpose, given the existing socio-political and economic conditions./ It must be stated that in recent years we have been dealing with an unsatisfactory situation in this respect. It is only partially justified by shortages of research equipment, limited material imports and difficult access to world literature and information. On the other hand, owing to the substantial decline in teaching loads, conditions favoring the concentration of effort on research have arisen. These possibilities are being exploited to a limited extent, and at some higher schools they are not being utilized at all. And yet, in view of the tremendous need for scientific and technical progress and development of social sciences in this country, help from higher educational institutions is a national necessity.

"/We are disturbed by the course of the instructional process in our higher schools./ After the decree of 4 May 1982 on higher education became effective, all competences relating to curriculum programming were taken over by collegial bodies at higher educational institutions. In practice this resulted in a situation in which students majoring in the same field of study but graduating from different universities often gain differing amounts of knowledge. Curriculum contents have ceased to be influenced in any way by the practice of economic, social and cultural life.

"The time taken to graduate also has become longer; not more than 50 percent of students earn their degrees on schedule. Moreover, 70 percent of the graduates have an annual grade average of C or C+, and only about 30 percent have B and A averages.

"The trends in higher education in our country in recent years have been attentively watched by our society. The anxiety felt by the working class owing to the violations of the state nature of higher educational institutions, and owing to actions contrary to the law as well as the policy of the socialist state which strives maximally to eliminate the consequences of the crisis and achieve social consensus, have been reflected at the plenary sessions of the PZPR Central Committee.

"/The package of bills voted by the Sejm is of a mutually complementary nature. For they concern the same field of action, i.e., science and higher education and the academic community in general, construed as a community of teachers and students./

"The adopted solutions should maximize the manner in which higher schools perform their function. The decree on higher education retains the institution of elections of chief academic administrators and collegial bodies as well as of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education. Only their competences and the procedure for their appointment have been modified, and to a slight degree at that. Hence the activism of rectors [and] deans will markedly influence the implementation of the decree and the normalization of the situation at higher educational institutions. It should be important for them to rapidly familiarize academe with the updated regulations so that they could be utilized in the work of higher educational institutions. The academic statute will remain the principal document governing the activities of discrete educational institutions, and student self-government also will be retained.

"It is primarily the professors and in general independent scientific workers who should rear and educate students, conduct scientific research and train new cadres for Polish science. It was in that direction, too, that the legal regulations were oriented. Likewise, we intend to follow the same road as regards the management of institutions of higher education. For the position of independent scientific workers in the representative and self-government bodies of higher educational institutions has been strengthened. Therefore, they must maximally accept responsibility for the life and work of these institutions. In this connection, it was not the intention of the legislators to eliminate from these bodies the representatives of other groups, particularly student groups. Still, this concerns giving definite priority to the faculty, in view of its special responsibility for the research and instructional activities of higher educational institutions and their scientific and social prestige. In this context, the criteria for granting rights to confer scientific degrees and titles have been tightened. This should strengthen academic self-discipline at schools and erect a barrier to the decline in the level of doctoral and habilitation dissertations, as well as in the level itself of the entire academic teaching and research community.

"The position of the Minister of Science and Higher Education has been strengthened in his capacity as [the head of] the supreme organ of state administration supervising and controlling the work of higher educational institutions. But while his position and rights are strengthened, the competences, as evolved legally and by tradition, of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education are retained, chiefly in its capacity as a high-ranking consultative and advisory body. By broadening the scope of the minister's rights and strengthening his position the government wanted to stress that higher educational institutions are state organizations and thereby are subject to the generally accepted principles of supervision and control in this country. The rights of the rector and the dean, who had previously been mere executors of the resolutions of collegial bodies, also have been expanded. Now they are empowered to decide on the life of the higher school, while at the same time being obligated to consult collegial bodies or take decisions in cooperation with them. Under the new legal system, the rector and the dean are responsible for the overall implementation of tasks by higher educational institutions.



"/In the immediate future a model statute of the higher educational institution will be drafted and ordinances governing the principles of the establishment and operation of organs of student self-government will be issued, along with guideposts for the bylaws of that government./ This should help normalize the operations of student self-government. Student and youth organizations will participate in that self-government. Until such time as representatives of youth at the level of higher educational institutions and departments are elected, provisional regulations grant the possibility of election of group seniors and class seniors. Thus there will be no interruption in the activity of youth representations. At the same time, our aim is that, when the students return from the vacations, the aforementioned laws already be in operation at higher educational institutions. This would serve for self-government to arise on the starting day of the new academic year.

"As regards the model statute, we visualize it as a document that makes uniform certain general tasks and functions of the higher educational institution. But we want it to be sufficiently flexible to allow for the special features of individual higher educational institutions.

"We believe that schools will have to adapt as early as in September their collegial bodies to the requirements of the new decree. I think that the sooner they do that the easier it will be for them to pursue their normal activities.

"We also want to start work on the structure of employment in discrete higher educational institutions. For the decree places the minister under the obligation of regularizing the state of employment at these institutions in accordance with the tasks which face them. In this work we wish to base ourselves on the opinions of individual institutions. One of the most important questions we will work on is the analysis of the sociopolitical situation in individual higher educational institutions. On its findings will depend the possibility of transferring certain of the minister's legal competences to the rector and the senate.

"/We realize that it will be highly responsible work requiring broad analyses. Hence we would like to carry it out with the assistance of a broad spectrum of representatives of political organizations and the cadre of independent scientific workers employed in institutions of higher education./"

#### Highlights of Sejm Discussion on Bill

Warsaw ITD in Polish 11 Aug 85 pp 4,5

[Article by (ton): "A Decision of the Sejm"]

[Text] On Thursday 25 July the discussion of the updated shape of the decree on higher education was ended. For on that day the Sejm voted to pass that decree, and along with it decrees on: academic degrees and titles, the office of the minister of science and higher education, and R&D organizations.



On behalf of the Commission for Science and Technological Progress and the Lawmaking Commission, Deputy Jarema Marciszewski (PZPR) declared:

"The updated provisions are not of a repressive nature, although that is how men of illwill attempt to misrepresent them. But undoubtedly there is a need to maintain legal provisions safeguarding public order in institutions of higher education, and particularly the possibility of the operation of enforcement agencies in the event of powerlessness or inertia of the academic authorities in face of violations of the law or of actions contrary to important social interests.... The updated decree does not provide for eliminating self-government forms of the self-organization of youth. On the contrary, it assures a broad field for constructive action to both youth associations and self-government itself, by recognizing a number of their advisory and even decisionmaking rights. The decree empowers the minister to define in detail the principles and forms of operation of self-government."

Deputy Jan Lutomski (PZPR) discussed the government draft of the decree on R&D organizations.

Others taking the floor were Deputy Elzbieta Rutkowska on behalf of the Caucus of PZPR Deputies, Waldemar Michna on behalf of the Caucus of ZSL [United Pesant Party] Deputies, and Deputy Edward Zglobicki on behalf of the Caucus of SD [Democratic Party] Deputies.

Ten speakers took part in the discussion. Edmund Osmanczyk (nonparty) declared:

"The Main Council for Higher Education expressed its profound regret that the draft decrees submitted by the government did not take into consideration the opinion of a majority of academic communities, which desire that the updating be postponed and its scope reduced.... The Sejm should not ignore the authoritative opinions of the Main Council, which after all consists of persons who aren't hostile to the people's state.... The minister's obdurateness cannot be in this situation a criterion to the Sejm. The minister has come, is here, and will go away, because he is a replaceable functionary of the state in a particular ministry. But the authority, scientific and moral, of our scientists must be a permanent value of our culture and our state."

Deputy Osmanczyk next offered a formal proposal for adopting the postulate of the Main Council and deferring until the next term of the Sejm a decision on the decrees under discussion.

Deputy Janusz Zablocki (nonparty) said that we are being menaced by a flood of legislation as reflected in the hasty production of decrees and equally hasty updating of recently passed decrees.

Deputy Henryk Wisniewski (PZPR), on the other hand, declared:

"Science and education cannot remain under the control of academe itself. The society has the right to know where higher education is heading and expect

from the academic community effects consonant with the goals of our system of society."

The last speaker was Deputy Sylwester Zawadzki who, polemicizing with E. Osmanczyk, declared:

"Deputy Osmanczyk's claim that comments by the Main Council were not utilized in the Sejm's work is not valid, because they were attentively considered."

The floor was also taken by the Minister of Science and Higher Education Benon Miskiewicz who, in answer to criticism by deputies Osmanczyk and Zablocki, spoke of academic self-government:

"In the proposals it has presented the government is not opposed to self-government at institutions of higher education but actually wishes to promote its authentic academic nature."

Concerning the opinion of the Main Council the speaker stated that it is not the same as the opinion of the academic community as a whole. It merely reflects the views and attitudes of discrete circles and groups of that community.

The Sejm rejected the motion of Edmund Osmanczyk and passed the entire package of decrees. /Five persons voted against the decree on higher education and nine abstained; 327 deputies voted in favor. The other decrees were passed by a similar majority of votes./

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POLAND

PANORAMIC PAINTING STIRS PATRIOTIC FEELINGS

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 pp 1,3

[Article by Tadeusz Burzynski: "Returned to the Nation"]

[Text] The restored Panorama Racławicka [Panorama of the Battle of Racławice, where Kosciuszko had defeated Russian troops] was opened to public viewing. The first viewers -- and until the end of June they will be primarily the employees of the numerous Wroclaw enterprises involved in building and refurbishing the facility -- will act as a kind of special inspectors. It is necessary to check on the operation of the facility, the air conditioning and various unique equipment, and to maximally streamline the flow of viewers so as to eliminate any problems and unpleasant surprises before 1 July when normal access to the Panorama will be opened for tour groups and individual ticket purchasers. After that date, an unending stream of people divided into 40-person groups entering the interior at 20-minute intervals, will flow through the Rotunda each day except Wednesdays.

Each group will stay inside for about 40 minutes. One-half of that time will be consumed by a background briefing: films and transparencies will be shown on three screens in the "Waiting Room", while an accurate lecture on the course of the historic battle can be heard in the Small Rotunda where a plastic topographical map will be displayed. There too an exhibition of the uniforms and arms worn by the military in the late 18th century can be viewed. The remaining time is set aside for the main attraction: the contemplation, from a viewing platform, of the famous painting by Styka and Kossak. This will be assisted by a recorded voice commentary.

Several days ago I saw the Panorama for the first time as it ultimately looks. It produced a tremendous impression on me, all the more so considering that earlier I had the opportunity to view without feeling any special emotion various fragments of the canvas while it was being restored. Moreover, I remember the Panorama clearly from its color reproductions. These reproductions provide some idea of the picture itself, but they also raise doubts as to whether it indeed is an eminent work of art. But partial views of this kind cause us to stray into a basic mistake. We forget that this gigantic painting was created not as an autonomous work but as an element of a complex spatial composition, and that it performs its function fully only in

combination with a scaffolding and when viewed from a precisely measured position at the center of the Rotunda.

The first shock to the viewer is the illusion of a vast open space. The impression is so strong that it appears hardly credible that we are inside a concrete "barrel" with a diameter of barely 30 meters. We have the impression of standing atop a hill (the viewing point) in an extensive hilly area, on a sunlit day, in pure transparent air, so that far off in the distance we can even perceive the summits of the Tatra Mountains. In the immediate neighborhood, seeming close enough to be touched, stand trees, bushes and other plants as well as buildings. Among them various objects lie scattered.

[It almost seems as if] by jumping across a low barrier we could run down a sloping path into a real gully into which a soldier just then is tumbling from the opposite direction. Or we could bypass the gully, enter a field path, leap across the trunk of a fallen birch tree, continue on the path for several hundred meters and find ourselves in.... Precisely where? Strain your eyes as you might, but you cannot perceive at which point the path still continues to be a real path, at which point it becomes a painted path, where the boundary line of the real tree trunk runs and where the painting begins. The meshing of the scaffolding with the painting is extraordinary. In effect, we are dealing not just with the art of painting but with an intricate masterpiece of showmanship, a kind of theatre that utilizes the laws of optics and the properties of the human eye and mind. Although we live in an era of spectacular mass media, the Panorama astounds us as an uncommon feat of... technology.

Long ago when old L'vovites, who after the war became Wroclawites, used to tell me about the Panorama as a unique spectacle, a unique esthetic experience, etc., I had suspected that various sentiments magnified remembered impressions in their imagination. Now I've become convinced that they were right. This is indeed an extraordinary spectacle.

The release of the Panorama Raclawicka for public viewing signifies the ending of the unusual history of that masterpiece,

A History That is Full of Paradoxes,

in People's Poland. The canvas of Styka and Kossak was transported to this country in 1946 and, together with many other relics of Polish culture from L'vov, housed in Wroclaw, the largest aggregation of repatriates from that city, that is, in a community then regarded as the natural heir and continuator of the L'vov tradition. As known, the new seat of the L'vov Ossolineum was established in Wroclaw, and it was there that [the statue of] Count Aleksander Fredro moved together with its pediment and the Panorama Raclawicka was to be reopened.

Immediately after the canvas was transported to Wroclaw, the Public Committee for Reconstructing the Panorama Raclawicka was established in that city, with Prof Eugeniusz Geppert playing a particularly active role on that committee. Public contributions provided the initial funds, but soon there occurred a propaganda disaster whose effects lasted for entire decades. I do not know and

probably will hardly ever find out who, where and when had conceived the absurd notion that this historical painting could produce an undesirable political side-effect. It is enough that for this reason the idea [of opening access to it for the public] was postponed at the top ad acta.

This idea revived only after 1956, when another committee, headed by Prof Stanislaw Dawski, was established. A contest for designing the rotunda was announced, and it was won by Marek and Ewa Dziekonski, and in the mid-1960's its construction was begun. The concrete walls were erected at a fast pace, but soon afterward the project began to stagnate. This also could be said of the restoration work on the painting. I myself remember the words whispered to me by the restorers working on a section of the canvas hanging in the large auditorium of the Wroclaw Gastronomic Technikum: "Better don't ask when we'll complete it, because we were ordered to do it as slowly as possible."

For some 15 years the rotunda remained a vacant construction site, a meeting-place for petty thieves and other representatives of the world of crime. Now and then eliminating this trouble spot was considered. Various stupid notions for an eventual adaptation of the site to some other purpose were offered, in view of the specific nature of that project, but fortunately they all were unrealistic. In the meantime, the myth of the "political sensitivity" of the Panorama existed in various decisionmaking circles that sometimes were not very knowledgeable about the actual nature of the Panorama. For a long time, the directive applied: "Don't write about the Panorama, and don't ask about it, then perhaps people will forget." This directive caused the Panorama to become indeed "politically sensitive," because as a result many people persistently asked about it, and to numerous Wroclawites the attitude toward the Panorama and the earlier decisions concerning its reconstruction became a touchstone for the credibility of the authorities.

It once happened that, under the pretext of expert restoration, the canvas was transported to Warsaw, where it was further damaged. Furthermore, a campaign in favor of siting the Panorama perhaps in Krakow or, best of all, in Racławice instead of in Wroclaw was artificially launched. Once even, in my presence, a very important personage sighed: "I wish it were destroyed by fire. Then once and for all we'd have peace and this national kitsch would be gone."

No fire broke out. Instead, the year 1980 [Solidarity] came. On 10 October the third public committee was established under the direction of the universally respected Prof Alfred Jahn, and it was cordially and understandingly received at the Belvedere by [President] Henryk Jablonski. A month later the canvas was back in Wroclaw. Within less than 2 months the work on the Rotunda was resumed, and it was topped on 12 June 1981. Contributions of zlotys (and some hard currency as well) began to pour in, both from private sources and from various organizations and institutions. Considerable funds were granted by the Province People's Council from its territorial budget. The Ministry of Culture and Arts did not spare funds either. The Polish Lottery Monopoly contributed 20 million zlotys twice.

The restoration work was an epic in itself. It is simply that no one in Poland has ever undertaken anything like that. Nearly every day new problems arose to

be solved. There were problems relating to the acquisition of appropriate materials, preparations, adhesives and God knows what else. However,

#### A Great Mobilization

of various men of goodwill took place. No plant or institution responded with indifference to the needs announced in behalf of the Panorama, whether it was the Polytechnic or the PAFAWAG [State Rolling Stock Plant] or the River Shipyard or the army (especially the Higher Officer School imienia Kosciuszko) or the Curia (a substantial contribution in foreign exchange from church collections abroad).

In the last 4 years various people offered to contribute altogether several score thousand manhours of volunteer work for the Panorama. Not only the Wroclawites. On this construction project, which united the most diverse individuals, also worked new arrivals from distant cities, including school youth from Warsaw, Kolobrzeg, Plock, Starachowice and Zamosc. There was no dearth of youth from Krakow either, from the Team of Economic Schools.

This says something in times when so much is being said about apathy and indifference and the goals being striven for include a national consensus.

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POLAND

# FIRST GRADUATES OF AGITPROP SCHOOL

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 4 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by (gp): "First Graduates of the School of Worker Aktiv"]

[Text] During the last school year the nation's first school of worker aktiv was established in midtown Krakow on the initiative of the [Krakow] City-Quarter PZPR Committee. Altogether, two such interplant schools operated in the midtown area, enriching the political, economic and social knowledge of workers of the following enterprises: the ZPC [Sugar Industry Works] WAWEL, the District Meat Industry Enterprise, the plant party committee of the STOMIL PG [Rubber Industry Works], the St. Szadkowski ZBMiA [Machinery and Appliances Plant], the Gasworks, and the Power Works. Many non-party-member foremen and social and youth activists availed themselves of this form of education. The curriculum comprised 10 lectures in various fields. The instructors were lecturers from the Krakow and City-Quarter Committee of the PZPR: Marian Dabrowa, Julian Wielgosz, Zdzislaw Les, Zdzislaw Kornas, Stanislaw Ciesla, Stefan Nawrot, Kazimierz Dziedzic and Andrzej Szopa.

Last Tuesday was held a graduation ceremony. The closing address was delivered by the Justice of the Province Court Marek Sadecki, who discussed the principles of the regulations governing elections to the Sejm.

First Secretary of the Krakow City-Quarter PZPR Committee Jacek Inwald thanked the audience for their participation in the school work and good attendance and distributed certificates of completion of the School of Worker Aktiv. The ceremony was attended by Marian Wasilewski, director of the Ideological Training Center under the Krakow Province PZPR Committee.

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POLAND

PRON ORGAN INVITES READER COMMENTS' ON 'POLITICAL CULTURE'

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish 7 Jul 85 p 5

[Letters from readers: "Letters on Political Culture"]

[Text] "We don't know how to differ in a polished and sagacious manner." This was the title under which ODRÓDZENIE, in its issue No 9 of 3 March 85, had published the results of an editorial panel discussion on the political culture of Poles. Today we publish below our first responses from readers, and we invite more readers to send in their comments on this important and still topical subject.

The Editors

Letter from Adam Anastaziuk: "Whenever two Poles..."

The prevailing view is that Poles lack political culture, that they do not know how to dispute constructively and reach a consensus, that whenever two Poles meet there are three political parties, etc. This view was besides also voiced by the participants in the editorial discussion. Yet, like any generalization, it is of a certainty both true and substantially exaggerated.

I am convinced that political culture is a derivative of three factors: the sociopolitical and economic conditions in which a nation exists at a given stage of its historical development, the traditions and characteristics of individuals which compose the Polish national character, and culture as such--the higher the cultural level of a society, the higher the quality of its political culture (of course, I don't mean to claim that education determines political culture; it does promote that level but is not decisive to it).

I perceive a relationship between the level of economic development and living standards, on the one hand, and political culture on the other. For it is obvious that economic austerity unleashes in people aggressive and uncontrolled attitudes, while the need to obtain vittles imposes a particular mode of behavior. If, on the other hand, the economy is that of abundance, people react more calmly and deliberately and begin to perceive that bread may be stale, that the selection is too limited, the store has an unesthetic



appearance, etc. In a word, the perceived quantity of factors contributing to a more comfortable satiation of hunger increases and thus, purely and simply, culture is added to biology.

Consider a specific instance. In 1981 the economic situation was such that store shelves were vacant while the wave of "democratization" surged. At the time, a Western journalist observed that when there is nothing to share, there is nothing to democratize. It is difficult to deny the validity of that observation. For it sums up the essence of the problem represented by the feedback between living standards and political culture, in this order and not vice versa.

In addition to the economic situation, the political conditions under which the citizenry lives also are fundamentally relevant to political culture. I refer here to the system of state, the manner of exercise of power, the nature and quantity of political subjects (that is, the party, representative bodies, social and self-government organizations), the scope of political and civic freedoms, the feeling of personal security and many other similar factors composing the whole of the institutions of our state.

Here, without going into detail, I wish to draw attention to two questions.

The first concerns the rulers. Now during the 40 years of People's Poland there were periods when the rulers listened little to what others thought about government and promoted chiefly their own concepts, unjustly terming them the concepts of the party, even though basically the party membership held a different opinion about many fundamental problems. This was bound to lead to conflicts between the authorities and their own party and the society, which clearly did not foster the development of political culture.

We shall never raise the level of political culture by street demonstrations and violence, and the wounds dealt to the clashing sides will afterward take a long time to heal and unfortunately they do not always heal properly. The temptation to govern without consulting the society, without listening to the "grassroots," is unusually strong and often difficult to resist, and hence in such cases the rulers think of themselves that they, the government, are one thing and the society is another. This dangerous division into "them" and "us" so quickly engenders failure to identify with what the authorities think and do. Life then proceeds on two tracks as it were: the authorities on one and the society on the other. As a further consequence, the nation disclaims any responsibility for the country's fate, and then but a small distance remains to the outbreak of a dramatic situation. So where is there room for political culture?

The other question concerns the operation of various institutions of socialist democracy, beginning with the village council and ending with the Sejm. Do these bodies operate properly? Is their voice listened to? Do the persons belonging to them meet the expectations of those who elected them? If yes, we can say that political culture is growing. If no, we say that political culture is declining. Of course, I'm oversimplifying, because this phenomenon is much more complex. After all, something should also be said at least about

school self-government, student body government. youth organizations and many other factors that shape ex officio, as it were, our political culture.

Another factor shaping political culture is the national traditions and character of Poles. So far as tradition is concerned, we are dealing with extremist appraisals. Some speak of a Poland of tolerance and nobles' democracy in which an active part had been taken by about 10 percent of the society whereas 'democratic' England was governed by a barely 2-percent part of the society. Others, on the other hand, speak of Polish self-will, contumely and anarchy. One French historian, when writing a history of 18th century Poland, titled it "A History of Anarchy in Poland." Well then, is it tolerance or anarchy, democracy or cock-of-the-walk behavior? I think both, because one meaning of political culture is the positive understanding that it is necessary to want and know how to utilize democratic institutions.

It is true that Poland lived through difficult times in its history, when it was a national virtue to fight against the state, because the rulers were foreign. But I do not agree with those who trace the causes of the low political culture of Poles precisely to the partitions and the occupation. It seems to me that the most weighty factor is the national characteristics of Poles. Nature has somehow endowed us with a strange and practically innate inclination toward divisiveness and quarrels. We are individualists, which often simply means egoism. To me these characteristics encoded in our subconscious rank higher, insofar as the political attitudes of Poles are concerned, than factors deriving from tradition and history. Englishmen, for example, through a strange concatenation of circumstances, always divide themselves into two parties, while we divide ourselves into two hundred. In Russia respect for the authorities has always existed. But the converse is true in our country. Wherefore? I cannot answer this conclusively.

But the level of political culture also hinges on what we term culture in general. Thus, there is room for personal thoughts, attitude towards life, role models, a hierarchy of values, the atmosphere of one's childhood home, the relations prevailing in stores, buses, on the street, in school, at the workplace, and the level of our personal knowledge and culture.

Politics is action on a broad scale; it is power and its exercise. If our attitude toward our friends, neighbors or people we meet on the street is not well-meaning and imbued with personal culture, then in our political life too we shall demonstrate our arrogance, obstinacy, quarrelsomeness and a cock-of-the-walk attitude.

Political culture is decided by many factors, from the atmosphere of one's childhood home to major events in the nation's life. Political culture cannot be learned from a book or through active participation for, say, a year in a political organization. Political culture is a question of steady inner growth and creative patience.

Letter from Jan Nowak, Wojslawica, Sieradz Province: "Trust is a Scarce Commodity"

According to Prof Dobrosielski, political culture consists in striving for an objective understanding of the role and function of the nation, the state, the society and the authorities in their mutual and interdependent relationships and ties. We cannot for a moment forget that it is precisely political culture that requires that our national, sociopolitical and economic disputes be waged in the form of dialogue, by peaceful means, without resorting to force.

Nowadays we say that we are following the "line of consensus, struggle and socialist reforms." Generally, this definition is just, but does this "struggle" require that hostility which was discussed one time by Prof T. Kotarbinski in his chapter on "Techniques of Struggle" in "A Treatise on Good Work"?

We should wage national dialogue, which is occurring with tremendous difficulty, so as to preserve the principal components of political culture. Now these components include historical awareness, political attitudes and behavior, political leadership, the rules of the political game and the principles of political education.

On confining myself to, at least, one of these components, namely, "the principles of political education," I have to assess negatively the slogans launched during the martial law era: "greater evil" and "lesser evil." It seems to me that the application of the ethical concepts of "good" and "evil" in politics must be carried out and "introduced" with great caution. The average citizen believes that politics should also remain in accord with moral norms. But on hearing definitions of the "lesser evil" and "greater evil" kind, he is justified in feeling uneasy....

Or consider another component of political culture, namely, the rules of the political game. Are not these rules being changed too frequently and determined by the personal traits of political leaders which influence interpersonal relations, and chiefly the superior-subordinate relations? Do not arrogance, cock-of-the-walk attitude and dishonesty still survive like some kind of baccilli? Thus, I agree with the comments made during the editorial discussion to the effect that the mysteries of political culture should first be mastered by the representatives of the authorities, since they have all the trump cards: the mass media, school curricula and political organizations, and thus they impose a particular style.

Much, very much depends on the managerial political-administrative elite. It is good that the Council of Ministers established a new institution -- the Center for the Postgraduate Training of State Administrative Employees. The point is that the students at that Center should truly be the best ones, young, conscientious, energetic and devoted to the people.

The nowadays so needed recovery of the society's trust in the authorities, and vice versa, will not occur on the principle of 'deus ex machina.' Trust, a commodity so scarce these days, has still to be actively worked for. In her work, "Normy moralne" [Moral Norms], Prof Maria Ossowska mentioned several norms which have to be adhered to in order to gain trust. They are: don't lie, keep your word, don't steal, don't cheat, be loyal. This concerns rebuilding trust among citizens of the PRL in general, because the absence of trust in

human relations means absence of a feeling of security, and the absence of security, in its turn, causes the individual to opt for "self-defense" rather than conscientious work.

From time to time we undertake a struggle against anarchist attitudes. It seems to me, however, that we too often hunt for "anarchists" where they actually do not exist. I personally am in accord with Prof Sylwester Zawadzki and Prof Mikolaj Kozakiewicz who claim that the antisocialist opposition should be distinguished from the opposition that supports our system of society but has doubts about methods of governing. Nowadays many so-called experts on the subject readily confuse the "system" with the "system of society." But a system, in my opinion, is merely a method, that is, a road leading to the system of society. It happens that a citizen is, and justly at that, in the "opposition," because he gets "boiling mad" when conflicting or mutually exclusive laws are promulgated. Administrative and economic decisions can be and are just as "anarchogenic."

1386

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8 October 1985

## POLAND

## CRITIC LAMENTS STATE OF POPULAR CULTURE, GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Poznan WPROST in Polish 18 Aug 85 pp 4-7

[Krzysztof Teodor Teopltitz interviewed by Janusz Michalak; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Let's talk about the Polish imagination. A few years ago you published a well-known book on the subject entitled "Denizens of the Mass Imagination." Since then have you had a desire to write a sequel to it?

[Answer] I haven't seen any need for that. That book described a certain beginning stage of mass culture in Poland during the 1960s, but anything I could say about it since then would either be an extension of what I described in "Denizens" or would be nothing original.

[Question] But why haven't you taken an interest in what has happened with that culture in the 1970s, when it moved much closer to western culture, even to the point of uncritically copying it?

[Answer] Precisely because it is so similar to what is happening in the real world, and since there is already an enormous amount of literature on that subject, I could only have rewritten what had already been written. Besides, I touch upon those matters in another book, "Everything for Everyone."

[Question] But hasn't this similarity had, and doesn't it still have, a very specific character?

[Answer] At that time the only thing specifically Polish was that it was poorer. But the mechanisms were similar. Only now is another specific feature of our mass emotions emerging. They have taken on a quite unexpected character, one which has little in common with mass culture in the western sense.

Today mass culture is dominated by aspects which are linked to age-old beliefs of Polish society. It is dominated by the Church, various kinds of church ceremonies and religious demonstrations. Society is obsessed rather archetypes drawn from old literary sources than with heroes produced in the mass media. The mass imagination in Poland has turned out to be very conservative, ignoring the realities of the modern world.

[Question] Perhaps this ignorance is also a result of material backwardness, at least as regards the means for producing and distributing works of culture?

[Answer] Of course, today the videocassette is revolutionizing mass culture. I think that it is leading to a change in the whole repertoire of mass culture. The viewer is no longer a captive of the movie theater or television, he can choose for himself what he wants to watch and when to watch it. The mass consumer of culture is becoming independent of the hitherto dictatorial media. This is one of the revolutionary processes taking place before our eyes. A whole current of sociological literature in the West was for a time one great lamentation over man's loss of freedom to the monopolistic system of mass information, which is in fact open to doubt.

[Question] That's how it is in the West, but we probably won't have this new, original means of receiving culture for quite some time?

[Answer] That's true so far, but let's talk about five years down the road. I'll bet that it will be a mass phenomenon. Polish surrealism will be at work here. It was the same when we predicted the development of television: in 2 years there were already as many television sets as had been predicted for a decade. The same thing holds true for the motorization of Poland: there is no real reason for there to be as many cars as there are, given the high cost of buying and running them.

[Question] And all of this is happening independently of our national industry...

[Answer] Our industry may or may not help, but certain civilizational trends are getting through. Poles have always realized this. Obviously, it is a great mistake that we are not planning for this, that we do not have good video equipment and cassettes made in Poland, but even so I believe that we will soon have this phenomenon.

[Question] If things turn out as you say, then the problem of mass culture will appear in a totally new dimension.

[Answer] Totally new problems will appear. For example, the repertoire, what people will want to watch or not watch. Today, by controlling the cinema and television one can control the whole repertoire of shows that people see. In the video age that will be impossible. Let me emphasize that our state and whole distribution apparatus are organized for centralized systems. But no one knows how to adopt them to extend control over the video cassettes which people have at home. Thus the whole reluctance to accept this new medium comes from the fact that present methods of control would not apply to it.

This also applies to satellite television. This is in the very near future for us, and as you know, when there are satellite programs, receiving them is a relatively simple matter. It is almost certain that masses of people will watch satellite programs, but nevertheless the decisive factors are uncertain, because they simply don't know how to deal with this phenomenon. We have no realistic forecast in this area and no ideas about the future. We are living in today's and yesterday's world, but not in tomorrow's, but like it or not, tomorrow is coming.



[Question] But that is a matter of concern for the state, which will have to deal with it.

[Answer] Please note that this is linked with certain natural laws: some important phenomena are growing in our country unguided by any appropriate, reasonable cultural policy. This is the case with the development of video: it could be developed better, much more quickly and more intelligently... It's enough to look at the present program for video cassette rental outlets--it's awful. Aside from porno films and the stupidest cop and robber sensationalism, it's hard to find any worthwhile film there. The reason for this is that our attitude to the whole video movement is uncertain, because there is no intelligent state policy.

[Question] Let's turn to the content of our everyday popular culture. It's hard to point to any worthwhile examples, while kitsch flourishes and the cultural market place is dominated by works which are mediocre, boring and incapable of moving the imagination of the mass of viewers.

[Answer] I think the problem is more general. What distinguishes mass culture is that it is based on a constant system of values. It is accepted by the masses precisely because it coincides with the view of the average man, it reinforces his ideals, it is sensitive to the same anxieties, in short, it knows what he wants. But in Poland we are presently going through a period of total dissolution, and even collapse, of the system of generally accepted values. There is really nothing on which society agrees today. This applies not only to major political issues, but also to everyday affairs. Tell me, for example, whether it is a good thing to make a career in Poland today or not. People asked about that can immediately be divided into two categories. Some say that it's a good thing, others that it's wrong, because a person should live quietly, peacefully, on the sidelines, so to speak, for himself, etc. In any case this is a controversial subject and you cannot come to an agreement on it even among neighbors. But if we look at any American film, we don't have these problems, it's understood that if someone makes a career, then he's a positive individual, everything is okay. The same thing if we show that someone is rich. In Poland, we immediately start debating where he got it from. He must be a thief, it's nobler to be poor, because that's at least honest, etc. But this ascetic attitude of ours to wealth is only for show; in practice almost everyone tries to acquire things, people compete for cars, apartments, possessions.

All this is because in basic matters we cannot agree, and there are no definitely accepted criteria. This is evidence of the moral crisis of our society. A dual morality prevails in Poland today. In words everyone is noble, honest, like Konrad, but in deeds everyone schemes to make a little money, preferably in convertible currency, to acquire possessions. We live in a kind of artificial world as regards attitudes and values. This is why it is so clearly impossible for us to create any genuinely accepted and valuable works of mass culture. For mass culture is always based on lasting, definite moral criteria.

[Question] In my view, characteristic of this is the recent unprecedented popularity of science fiction. Isn't this a flight from what you call a morally ambiguous everyday life into a fantasy world, a world of simple, clearly accepted criteria?

[Answer] It is certainly a flight, but on the other hand it is simply a reflection in Poland of what has been going on for some time in the West. There is something characteristic in the fact that children love to read and watch it. They are not interested in fairy tales that take place in the distant past, or animal stories, it is as if they were subconsciously interested in their own future.

In the whole "space" culture there are two dominant tendencies. One, which is expressed by the Star Wars cycle, for example, is a set of age-old principles taken from adventure and historical novels and from the comic strips; the morality here is ancient, it is simply dressed up in a new form. On the other hand there is a second current, the disaster, which foretells our doom. It fits in well with our present fears for the future. I have written a book on this subject, about the end of the world, which should appear later this year.

[Question] In your view, when will the end of the world come?

[Answer] There are three likely ends: 200,000 years from now, the "geological" end; 200 years from now, the ecological end; and the atomic end, which should come tomorrow. The first is inevitable, the other two could be avoided.

[Question] But let's assume we've still got a little time left... It seems to me that in spite of everything certain aspects of our popular culture are in line with aspects of Western mass culture. For example, you mentioned the disaster trend in science fiction.

[Answer] At present the Western popular film is dominated by the adventure-fantasy trend. Lucas, Spielberg--they represent the success of the fantasy. But here there are not too many films of that type, except the two "Va banque" films, which are retrospective fantasies.

However, in young people's music this correlation is quite clear. In that our youth songs are sadder...

[Question] ...our lives are simply sadder.

[Answer] That is primarily because the musical trend which was linked with the specific pessimism of the hippy period is just now reaching us. In the outside world this trend has long since died out, but we are only just feeling the wave of pseudo-philosophical contemplativeness which is clearly expressed in those works. If we look at the repertoire of, for example, Michael Jackson, now it is totally different, it does not analyse the soul of the lonely person at all.

[Question] It is more upbeat.

[Answer] It is more dynamic and open. But what is interesting is that the rock wave seems to have come to an end. Concerts which used to draw enormous crowds are now playing in empty halls. Perhaps the era of a different song is beginning, a more articulate song, a song for singing, which would drastically reduce the dominance of the discoteque song.



[Question] Television has always played a special role in spreading mass culture. However, at present it is not doing much to propagate worthwhile works among the masses.

[Answer] In our country everyone complains about television. And rightly so. But we have to take into account a few "extenuating circumstances." We have gotten used to the television of the Szczepanski era, which, for what ever else it was, was rich. During certain periods, for example, it was possible to watch one episode of a popular series in New York, then get on a plane and see the next episode in Poland. Now our television is more than poor. Its hands are tied. It is well known that throughout the world today television is the mouthpiece of the authorities. Therefore it depends on the concept of propaganda. If that concept is based on simple principles, then television will never be any better. It can only be worse.

[Question] Our viewing public was enthralled by Isaura, which, as you in an article in "Polityka", came as a complete surprise to everyone.

[Answer] It was a surprise, but it really should not have been. We did know that serials enjoy tremendous success, especially family serials, and that the public loves melodramas.

The popularity of this serial is due not only to cultural phenomena, but also to political ones. Life in Poland now is so dull, monotonous and devoid of any attractions that people will watch anything simply to occupy their dreary evenings. Hence such a success for Isaura. Besides, it was publicized by the actors' coming to Poland. This is related to our fear of being separated, cut off from the outside world, which is unjustified if we consider the number of Poles who travel abroad these days. Thus, when someone from the great world of mass culture appears, the public receives him enthusiastically.

[Question] Can we speak of popular mass literature in our country? The success of "Skirolawki"...

[Answer] ...was artificial. It was due to attacks on the book, charges of pornography. If it were not for that, the majority of readers probably would not have touched it.

We have almost no popular literature at present. I have not heard of any contemporary novel which people would tear from each others' hands, such as "The Evil One" by Tyrmand.

[Question] Even "The Evil One" was probably so successful not because it is an especially good novel, but because it arose from a definite social need, it came at the right time.

[Answer] True, but that kind of success is difficult now, due to the breakdown of the system of socially accepted values, which we spoke of earlier, difficult to write such a novel. There is also no way to describe everyday life, everyday conversations of Poles, without touching on sensitive topics. Let us take the criminal novel as an example. In our country the hero has to be a policeman.

But nowadays how can we depict a policeman who would be both likable and believable?! It is a vicious circle. Authors of detective novels play around with "lone avengers", private detectives, which don't exist in Poland, but these are all artificial constructions and readers can tell it.

[Question] You have written about the denizens of the mass imagination of the sixties. In your view, whom is the Polish imagination preoccupied with today?

[Answer] Ghosts.

[Question] ?

[Answer] Basically, nowadays the Polish consciousness is preoccupied with ghosts from the attic. By that I mean the old myths about the Polish people, legends about national heroes, thinkers and politicians of the past. It is these emotions, connected with beliefs about our special, messianic role in the world, which have unfortunately dominated the Polish imagination in the eighties. If we look at what rose to the surface in 1981, we see that it was to a great extent the ideas and various writings dredged up from the inter-war period and interpreted uncritically.

[Question] Were they really taken all that seriously? Wasn't that simply a reaction to their almost total absence during the previous period?

[Answer] In any case, people got very excited about it all. Every historical thriller, every quotation from Pilsudski or Dmowski was met with acclaim. That would not be particularly surprising, given the silence on the subject before, if it were not for the fact that this was and is taken in many circles quite literally, with blind faith, regardless of what has taken place since then, what has turned out to be right and what has not, as if it were the gospel truth.

[Question] So if one were to write a book about the denizens of our mass imagination today, it would be about ghosts?

[Answer] Unfortunately, yes.

[Question] But haven't you gotten away from that, since you have written a book about the end of the world?

[Answer] Yes, but the possible end of the world is not a matter of ghosts, but of ourselves.

[Question] If it is as you say, then our isolation, our distance from the rest of the world will grow. In the rest of the world people don't deal in ghosts, they deal in computers.

[Answer] Of course, this is an unusually dangerous moment for us. I think that by continually wallowing in the past, in messianism, we decline as a civilization. And not only in relation to the West, but also with respect to our neighbors. If we compare the daily life of Poles with that of Hungarians, Czechs, or even Bulgarians, we can see clearly that the distance is growing. In this matter I am a pessimist. I think we are heading toward a dead end.

[Question] It is well known that culture arises from social consciousness, but it can also be formed. Do you think our present cultural reality perpetuates the present situation?

[Answer] To a great extent, yes. In culture, in our whole intellectual life a lack of dialog prevails instead of an exchange of views. Those who are "for" write fairly obvious things and try not to notice many genuinely disturbing phenomena. Those who are "against" have buried themselves in a world of Polish-religious-patriotic mythology. And so our Polish dialog of the deaf goes on, from which there can be no progress.

[Question] I think that what is also lacking in our culture, in our intellectual life, is at least an attempt to create some kind of vision of the future.

[Answer] You are right. We lack intellectual courage, to put it plainly, which is what we are aiming at. On the one hand we have the myths of the past, and on the other we have temporizing based on such complaints as "we can't afford it", "we're too poor to do anything", etc. Creating such a vision is, of course, a matter for culture, but, in my view, cultural circles are not up to the task now. They are in turmoil just like any other group and are simply in no position to meet this social need.

[Question] But claims can still be made on individual authors and intellectuals.

[Answer] Of course, but that is not so easy. For example, one of our best known writers and literary critics, when asked what art is, answered that art is that which pleases God. Fine, but that is no criterion, since no one knows what pleases God and what does not. The most we can tell is what pleases the bishop. How can we carry on any discussion under such circumstances?

[Question] If we agree that culture has a role to play in forming our consciousness, then once again the problem of popularizing culture arises. Our ministry even has a program for such popularization.

[Answer] I think the Ministry of Culture is carrying out a totally anachronistic model of popularization. In my view it should be based on modern technology. There is no point in buying trumpets for everyone who wants to play the trumpet, we should simply concentrate on developing the printing and graphics industries, the cinema, which are disintegrating on a massive scale. We should develop the record industry, copying equipment, etc.; the kind of popularization which consists of creating a folk-dance group in every community makes no sense, but unfortunately that is what we are inclined to do nowadays. We are going to have a folk or plebeian culture which will be the same everywhere.

The model being carried out by the Ministry is very conservative. In my view culture should be oriented toward the younger generation, but do you think the average young person is going to be drawn to a regional folk group?! I live in a community and I see every day what young people expect. There should be a discotheque, a real bookstore with a record department, an auditorium where

films can be shown... For me that is a worthwhile model for popularizing culture, not having a bunch of people dress up in folk costumes once a week.

Above all, however, popularization should be based on certain esthetic models. We have to decide what we want to popularize, and what we don't want to popularize, and we have to state clearly that we prefer some things and that precisely they have a chance of reaching the masses.

[Question] We have already had such a model.

[Answer] In the 1950s. At that time they decided on a couple of important things: It was said, for example, that there can be no cultured people without classical literature, and there followed cheap, mass editions of books which really did come into people's homes.

[Question] If your concept were carried out, there would be no chance for small groups to develop culturally.

[Answer] First of all, one must cultivate what is truly worthwhile. Then it spreads regardless of whether it is in Warsaw, Poznan or Plock. But the Ministry wants things to be even and flat everywhere.

Let us be candid about where such a policy comes from. It comes from the fact that during the so-called previous period there were put forward, often artificially and not without effort, a certain number of people who were supposed to set an example, but with time they became capricious and rebelled or went over to the opposition. Hence the fear that if we now put forward someone new, he may also, in time, decide he doesn't like the system. Better not to have any idols. This is the reason for our whole present unfortunate cultural policy.

[Question] There is also the problem of money and resources in general for popularization. The best thing would be a simultaneous development of the industry for meeting cultural needs and assistance to institutions which popularize culture in the communities. It is just that everything is lacking at present.

[Answer] Since there are too few resources, we should concentrate them on something. Either we have a campaign for books, video or new technology, or we give the money to the communities... But as things stand now, the resources which exist, and are in fact growing, since the National Cultural Fund is linked to the general payment fund, are scattered and in effect wasted.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

9970

CSO: 2600/1032

POLAND

COURT, PROSECUTOR REGULATIONS CITED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jul 85 p 6

[Text] Issue 31 of DZIENNIK USTAW was published on 12 July 1985.

The following laws were published:

-- Law on the structure of general courts. This law regulates in detail the activity of courts and court organizations. This includes the appointment, dismissal and resignation of judges, their rights and duties and discipline. This contains other provisions on lawyer trainees and court assessors, curators, court executive officers, first-grade officials, secretaries and other court employees, auxiliary councils and people's councilors, their election, terms of office, rights and responsibilities. The law also established the method and principles for conferrence of the honorary title of "Meritorious in the Dispensation of Justice in the Polish People's Republic".

The law becomes effective on 1 September 1985.

-- Law on the Prosecutor of the Polish Peoples Republic. Like the law above, this one precisely states regulations on the activities of the General Prosecutor and the general and military prosecutors subordinate to him. This law goes into effect on 1 September 1985.

This issue of DZIENNIK USTAW also contains two Council of Ministers decrees. The first decree on forest taxes becomes valid on 1 January 1986 and introduces a change to the previous decree on this subject: "The annual forest tax per hectare of forest land and soil is equal to the money value of 0.25 q of rye, calculated according to the official prices used in state-owned rye purchase centers on 1 January of the given year in which he forest tax is being taken (excluding temporary premiums). If the forest area is less than 1 hectare, the value of a proportional amount of rye no less than 0.05 q is used". The second decree concerns the division of construction investment and the principles and methods used to determine where they will be localized.

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CSO: 2600/991

POLAND

TEXT OF COURT RULING ON PRESS CENSORSHIP COMPLAINT PUBLISHED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Jul 85 p 8

[Text] The Supreme Administrative Court's 24 May ruling directly concerns the participants in the case, that is, the Main Bureau for Control of the Press and Publications and TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. However, this unique case gave the court occasion to more broadly consider such key issues as journalist rights to freedom of speech and publication and the right to free criticism as well as the limits placed on these rights. The views of the Supreme Administrative Court on this matter go far beyond the interests of journalists alone but are also of great significance to the life of the general public. This in itself was justification enough to publish the ruling in full. Only the argumentation has been presented here since the sentence itself led to dismissal of the charges made by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and a judgement that the editors of that newspaper pay the state treasury a sum of 600 zlotys for entering the charges. Here is the argumentation: the parenthetical elements have of course been provided by the editors.

Argumentation

The editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY submitted for review by the District Bureau for Control of Publications and Public Performances [OUKPiW] in Krakow an article by Maciej Kozlowski titled "How to punish?" (subtitled: "Bill for a temporary law on the particular penal responsibility"). The article concerned the review and acceptance by the Council of Ministers of the 15 February 1985 bill partially updating the provisions of penal law as well as the interview given the Polish Press Agency by the deputy minister of justice. The author of this article very strongly criticized the bill. Presenting his view that the practice of contemporary penal doctrine is evolving in the direction of resocializing penalties, the author was convinced that these penalties are generally not connected with a deprivation of freedom since they very often increase the demoralization of people placed "among other criminals".

Assessing the Polish criminal code since 1969 as relatively progressive and also noting further action to alleviate sentences in 1980, M. Kozlowski said

that the bill above tended in an entirely different direction with no justification at all and in a situation in which Polish criminal law and penal practice is, as he said, already one of the harshest in Europe. In particular, the author felt the bill was unjustified in calling for the suspension of conditional suspension of sentences "for a large group of criminals", expansion of the types of cases that could be handled more quickly and the raising of penalties. He gave his sharpest criticism to a bill to introduce trial by command [postepowanie nakazowe]. The author submitted that "this is an entirely new institution in our criminal law" whose introduction "would make it possible to hand down considerable sentences and terms of imprisonment without the accused being able to participate in the proceedings. This "violates basic principles of criminal law such as open public trial and the defendant's right to speak in his own defense". Finally, the author evaluates the projected changes as "violations of our citizens' constitutional guarantees and weakening the rule of law".

The 26 March 1985 decision of the Krakow OUKPiW based on the legal provisions of article 2 Parts 1 and 6 of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 20, item 99) prohibited the publication on M. Kozlowski's text. The editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY did not agree with this decision and questioned its legal validity.

On 11 April 1985, the Main Bureau for Control of Publications and Public Performances [GUKPiW] upheld that decision on the legal basis of article 2, paragraph 1 of the law on control of publications and public performances and acknowledged that the publication of this articles would pose a danger to state security.

In its complaint to the Supreme Administrative Court [NSA], TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY moved for the abrogation of that decision, charging that it was unjustifiable in that publication of the article in question would not endanger state security. The editors of this newspaper stated that the decision taken by the organs of control of publications and public performances violated article 1 of the press law.

The GUKPiW moved that this complaint be dismissed as unjustifiable. It stated that the contents of this article could incite public emotion and increased social tension and therefore constituted a threat to state security.

The NSA considered the following:

#### I. Institutional Guarantees

The central problems in this case are connected with the right to freedom of speech and press, the right to criticize and certain legally stipulated limits to these freedoms.

The Constitution of the Polish People's Republic, in Chapter 8 titled "Basic rights and duties of citizens", article 83, paragraph 1 gives citizens the freedom of speech and press.



The 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 20, item 99 with amendments and no 44 (1983), item 204) refers directly and clearly not only to this constitutional principle, stating that "the Polish People's Republic guarantees freedom of speech and press in publications and public performances" (article 1, paragraph 1), but also specifies and expands upon this by charging state organs and institutions and political and public organizations with the duty to defend and exercise freedom of speech and press in publications and public performances.

This provision is a natural development of the constitutional principle in article 67, paragraph 1, that the Polish People's Republic, consolidating and building upon the achievements of the working people, is to strengthen and broaden the rights of citizens.

Enriched with new ideas and strengthening the constitutional principle of freedom of press and speech, the 26 January 1984 press law (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 5, item 24) guaranteeing freedom of speech and press (article 1), assures citizens' rights of access to information and participation in public affairs and strengthens the constitutional order of the Polish People's Republic. In particular, the press is obligated to:

- distribute information and express opinions that further the growth of socialist social relations, the national economy, science and culture and international cooperation in the spirit of peace;

- embody the principles of open public life and public control, reveal and criticize negative phenomena in public and economic life and also organize and intervene;

- make it possible for citizens to take part in public consultation and discussion and therefore in the making of decisions concerning key national problems and other public affairs.

Just like the law on control of publications and public performances which by the obligation it places on state organs and institutions and political and public organizations to defend and exercise freedom of speech and press in public performances and create favorable conditions for the practical and effective exercise of these rights, the 26 January 1984 press law creates in essence an entire system of mechanisms and guarantees for these freedoms.

This system of mechanisms and institutional guarantees of the freedom of speech and press is supposed to make possible the achievement of the weighty public goal of using legal standards and namely establishing the conditions necessary for these rights.

Just for illustration, we must point out several institutional guarantees of the freedom of speech and press and the right to criticize contained within the provisions of the press law.

These include: the press's right to criticize any negative phenomena (article 6, paragraph 1) and guarantee every citizen the possibility to provide the press with information (article 5, paragraph 1), a ban on action to prevent



the press from gathering material or acting in any other way to silence criticism (article 6, paragraph 4) and the introduction of criminal responsibility for preventing or silencing criticism (article 44); any decision by the NSA to control a publication (article 58, paragraph 3) is considered legal on the basis of the press law.

This broad system of (constitutional) guarantees of freedom of speech and press and the right to criticize are accompanied by certain constitutional and legal responsibilities. Strict observation of the laws of the Polish People's Republic is the fundamental duty of every organ of state and every citizen (article 8, paragraph 2 of the Constitution). A citizen is obligated to follow the provisions of the Constitution and laws, respect the principles of social coexistence and conscientiously fulfill his obligations to the state (article 90).

The law on control of publications and public performances states that the rights of free speech and press in publications and public performances are regulated by that law (article 1, paragraph 3) and at the same time enumerates what cannot be done in the exercise of those rights (article 2).

Article 2 of the law on control of publications and public performances has established a concise catalogue of legal, constitutional and other values fundamental to a socialist state and society which cannot be violated in the exercise of free speech and press. This catalogue is supplemented by a precise list of bans.

At the same time, the 26 January 1985 law of press rights uses an entire system of mechanisms and institutional guarantees of the freedoms of speech and press to charge the press and journalists with many socially and professionally important duties such as:

- the obligation to act with the state limits of the law and the principles of social coexistence in the press's exercise of its right to criticize all negative phenomena (article 6, paragraph 1, first sentence);

- to strive to correctly present events (while exercising its right to criticize) and be guided by the interests of the socialist society and state as well as the rights and duties of citizens (article 6, paragraph 1, second sentence);

- define the tasks of journalists as a service to society and state and charge journalists with the responsibility to act according to professional ethics and the principles of social coexistence within the limits of law (article 10, paragraph 1);

- to behave very carefully and earnestly in gathering and using press materials and especially to determine whether acquired information is true and to give its sources (article 12, paragraph 1).

This synthetic recollection of the current stand of law on the questions of concern was necessary for continued deliberations of the NSA and its position on the charges raised in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's complaint.

Considering these charges, it is necessary first of all to answer the question of what is the relationship of the constitutional principles of freedom of speech and press as defined in article 1 of the law on control of publications and public performances and article 1 of the press law to article 2 of the law on control of publications and public performances which states what cannot be done in the exercise of the above rights. The Supreme Administrative Court has the following legal view of this question:

Article 2 of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and public performances contains a catalogue of legal and constitutional values fundamental to a socialist society and state as well as a catalogue of bans that must not be violated in the exercise of free speech and press. The list of bans constitutes an exception to the freedoms in article 1 of the above law and article 1 of the 26 January 1984 press law (DZIENNIK USTAW no 5, item 24) and precisely establishes the limits that must not be exceeded.

Only such a relationship of article 2 of the law on control of publications and public performances to the constitutional principle of freedom of speech and press and the legal system of mechanisms and guarantees and freedom can in any way regulate these rights and civil liberties.

## II. State Security

Relative to article 206, the administrative court is not bound by the limits of the complaint, nor therefore by the limits of the legal basis of the complaint nor by the limits of that complaint's charges. This means that the court determines whether the contested decision is based on a universally valid legal provision rather than on a legal basis created by the decision.

In the given case, the organ of the first instance based its decision upon two legal foundations of the ban on distribution, that is, points 1 and 6 of article 2 of the cited law on control of publications and public performances, while the organ of the second instance referred to only one, namely point 1 article 2 of this law and stated that this text constituted a threat to state security.

In his discourse, the plenipotentiary of the GUKPiW supported the decision both on its legal basis and its own merits. The Warsaw provincial vice-procurator who also supported the recommendation of the GUKPiW to reject the complaint, moved that, in his opinion, the contested decision was supported by article 2, point 1 of the law on publications and public performances because the text in question posed a threat to the security of the state.

Considering the above, the propriety of basing the decision to ban publication of the article on the basis of article 2 point 1 of the law should be considered above all.

The scope of the term "state security" has not been clearly determined and it is also hard to define because of the lack of direct references to any concrete provisions of criminal materials that are, as in many other cases, addressed by article 2 of the law on publications and public performances. These difficulties are made even worse by the fact that the meaning and scope

of this term must be determined solely on the basis of its use by censors. Since the the 28 July 1983 law on publications and public performances was updated, article 2 in its new wording became the provision in which the scope of particular legal norms covered in points 1-10 often overlap at least in part.

Thus, if, for example, some information attacks the independence of the Polish People's Republic (article 2, point 1) it also constitutes the propagation of criminal ideas (article 2 point 6). In the case of a "threat to state security", the extent of this ban overlaps at least in part the ban on making public state secrets that have been protected to "not injure the defense, security or any other important interest of the state" (article 2, paragraph 1 of the 14 December 1982 law on protecting state and government secrets (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 40, item 271).

In this situation, the meaning of the considered term is above all found in threats to state security that are not subject to the protection of secrets but involve actions that are not even formally prohibited under the threat of punishment under a specific penal provision. There is no way one can foresee all possible situations in which it is justifiable to assume a threat to state security. On the other hand, we can assume such a threat exists whenever:

- 1) it threatens the state as a whole rather than a locale or individual;
- 2) the threat is real, which is understood as meaning a situation, i.e. a set of objects or events, that carries a substantial probability of negative (harmful) effects (I. Andrejew, W. Swida, W. Wolter, "Kodeks karny z komentarzem" [Penal code with commentary], Warsaw, 1973, p 413).

It must be emphasized that "state security" is a so-called vague concept [niedokreslone pojecie]. The NSA does not share the view formulated in the NSA's judicature and doctrine that vague concepts are legal concepts and that any classification of these concepts should not limit the scope of court control. It is also necessary to differentiate vague concepts from administrative approbation. Vague concepts are subject to the full control of the NSA. Organs of censorship are obligated to show that the concrete press material can "threaten state security".

As stated above, a threat to state security cannot be understood abstractly. It must also be evaluated with regard to the overall internal and foreign situation and objectivize all essential elements and circumstances that in their totality (type, scale, intensity, duration in time, origins and development and possible results that can bring about other events and complications, etc.) give some basis for assessment that the distribution of a certain press material poses a threat to the security of the state.

In the given case, such a situation does not come into play. There is a lack of any rational cause to assume that this press material could inflame the public mood to such a degree as to seriously jeopardize order within the state or endanger it.

At this point, it must be pointed out that arguments for the updating of legal criminal provisions were presented over both radio and television as well as in popular journals and newspapers. At the same time, some press materials contained criticism of the bill for updating the existing law. It was also submitted that a certain number of employees, public officials and important figures in public life were against it. This criticism and opposition not only did not pose and threat to state security but did not even cause any local disturbances.

On the contrary! The public discussion was an expression of the actual use of the constitutional principle of freedom of speech and press, citizens' rights to use the press to realize their right to information and participation in public affairs, express opinions, observe the principle of open public life and public control, the freedom to criticize and participate in public consultation and discussion and therefore take part in the making of decisions on key national issues and important public affairs.

Criticism is an inseparable element of all public activity. Tolerance to criticism may not be seen as something felt subjectively or as "greatness of spirit" or a gesture to the press. Criticism is an integral part of the constitutional and legal right to freedom of speech and press, exchange of views and the right to speak out on public affairs.

In the 19 July 1968 ruling (act I CR 291/68 published in adjudications of the OSNCP [expansion unknown], issue 11/69, item 200), the Supreme Court expressed the following legal opinion: "Criticism is a socially useful and desirable activity if it is offered in the public interest and its goal is not annoy another person but is earnest and truthful". The present NSA fully shares the above view.

At the same time, considering the constitutional principle of freedom of speech and press and the precise provisions of the law, the NSA expressed the view that criticism can and should be done within a commonly accepted legal order and with regard to the principles of social coexistence because these are what set the boundaries, range of subjects, goals and social functions of criticism. Any attack on the fundamental values defined in article 2 of the law on control of publications and public performances violates legally-established limits to freedom of speech and press and the right to criticize and may be subject to the provisions of law.

Since he criticized the bill to update criminal laws, the author of the article "How to punish?" exercised his legal rights. This bill was subjected to discussion and public consultation during which, as is completely normal, there were presented various and even extremely different opinions and views. Criticism of the bill was therefore the inalienable right of the author of the text and the editors.

The text does, however, go beyond the limits of freedom of speech. It even violates article 10 and article 12, paragraph 1 of the press law because it goes beyond the limits established by law and the principles of social coexistence as well as violates the obligation of journalistic accuracy and earnestness.

Even though this problem is not central to the present discussion (since questions about the regulation of legal responsibility for violation of law through the publication of press material is covered by chapter 7 of the press law), it still may not be omitted from our considerations since TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY has charged that the freedoms of article 1 of the press law were violated.

An example of the lack of this "particular" (as the law demands) care and earnestness is the statement, unsubstantiated by any facts, that the number of persons under arrest by various police organizations everyday amounts to from a few to a few score thousands of persons (aside from those sentenced and temporarily arrested persons in penal institutions). Similarly, the charge of violation of the basic principles of criminal law such as open public trials and the defendant's right to speak on his own behalf by the introduction of trial by command could quite evidently disinform readers since the author of the text avoid all mention of contrary legal institutions that follow the usual court proceedings including the defendant's full right to speak on his own behalf.

These are only examples of violations of press law and journalists' duties that for reasons already discussed do not justify the charge that state security is endangered.

The NSA does not, on the other hand, share the view of the GUKPiW that this text could "hinder the further flow of legislation" and thereby endanger state security.

Every public consultation or discussion needs a suitable amount of time and should be regarded as a normal part of the work connected with the preparation and representation to the Sejm of a socially important bill or act of law.

One cannot see any threat to the state in the fact that a certain publication "can turn public opinion against the proposal for updating laws..." (from the justification for the decision to refuse publication of M. Kozlowski's article). Public consultation which is a form of democracy because the subject of new laws can be criticized very strongly and the press (according to article 1, point 3 of the press law) has the obligation to also present such assessments (if they do not violate the legal regulations).

In conclusion, it must be said that the above discussion leads one to the conclusion that in this case there was a lack of preconditions for the ban on publication of M. Kozlowski's article on the basis of article 2, point 1 of the law on control of publications and public performances.

### III. Obvious Crime

The argumentation for the decision of the first instance also based itself on the second legal basis of a ban on publication, namely article 2, point 6 of the law on publications and public performances and in particular the part of its that addresses the distribution of obviously criminal material. In any case, use of the legal consideration above requires closer definition indicating which provision of material criminal law is applicable in the given

case. The organ of the first instance did not do this and therefore forced the court to consider whether M. Kozłowski's article contained material could be in any way judged criminal on the basis of the provisions of the criminal code or other law.

According to this article, the Council of Ministers is, without any rational basis, trying to drastically sharpen penal responsibility for criminal acts abstractly from any real threat of criminality and against the obvious interests of society. At the same time, it charges that the Council of Ministers has introduced a legal bill limiting civil rights such as the right to self-defense and the right to an open public trial. Then stating that "the assertion of criminality is false" and that "the courts will have their hands tied", the author writes about "a foreseeable and shocking" growth in the number of prisoners and "the necessity to build new prisons in this time of crisis instead of schools or hospitals". Without giving any valid argumentation, the author also charges that the proposed regulations go against guaranteed constitutional guarantees and international human rights to which Poland subscribes. These and similar charges are accentuated by expressions such as "dramatic situation", "really shocking methods", and "socially dangerous spiral of punishment", etc.

It is obviously an attempt to degrade a supreme organ of state to impute in press material the Council of Ministers, which has the constitutional obligation to promote public order, the interests of the state and civil rights (article 41, point 7 of the Constitution), with the charge that it has against the obvious interests of society, without any rational cause and in a context that is totally abstracted from any existing threat of criminality and in violation of constitutional and international human rights guarantees "wound up the socially dangerous spiral of punishment" (article 2, point 6 of the law on control of publications and public performances, DZIENNIK USTAW, no 20, item 99 with later changes in connection with article 270, paragraphs 1 and 273).

As explained by the commentary to the criminal code (J. Bafia et al., Warsaw, 1977, p 707), "Degrading supreme organs of state is a concept broader than lack of respect or lying and involves all statements and behaviors aimed at creating among the public a lack of proper respect for authority".

Therefore, since M. Kozłowski's article degrades the Council of Ministers and this is according to article 270, paragraph 1 and 273 an obvious crime, the organ for control of publications and public performances was obliged to refuse its publication (article 13, paragraph 1 of the law on control of publications and public performances).

Thus, despite faulty reasoning in places, this decision was legally valid.

#### IV. Only the Legality of the Decision

Between the writing of the article "How to punish?" and its submission for review prior to publication and the court's consideration of the present matter, there was a change in the state of the law. On 10 May 1985 the Sejm passed a bill changing some of the provisions of the criminal law and the law



on offenses and the law on particular penal responsibility. This law comes into effect on 1 July 1985 and will remain so until 30 June 1988.

The NSA is, however, studying the legality of the latest decisions, in other words, it is considering the state of the law and actual circumstances existing on the day of the decision. In the given case, the decision of the organ of the first instance was issued on 26 March 1985 and the decision of the organ of the second instance came out on 11 April 1985 and therefore at the stage of discussion of the bill and before these laws were passed by the Sejm. Therefore, the court's deliberations on the given case apply to this period as well, i.e. the period of discussion of the bill.

In monitoring the decision under complaint by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, the court only examined that decision's agreement with the law (article 16, paragraph 2 and article 196, paragraph 1). On the other hand, it did not study and is not concerned with any position of meritorious questions that might be the object of press criticism and discussion (if they do not attack the values defined in article 2 of the June 1981 law) as this lies beyond its authority. Beyond the court's deliberation and monitoring therefore lies an entire set of matters connected both with legislative bills themselves, problems arousing controversy and argument in Poland and abroad such as the threat of criminality, how effectively it can be detected, prevented and neutralized, penal policy, the effectiveness of certain types of penalties and means of resocialization, etc. For these reasons, all questions of the value of particular arguments, views, opinions and criticisms lie beyond the competence of the court.

The presentation of these views, exchange of criticism and the assumption of a position on the views presented by other writers, newspapers or editors, etc. is exercise of the constitutional principle of freedom of speech and press and the right to criticize as precisely defined in articles 1,2 and 6 of the press law.

Since the meritorious problems connected both with the drafts of the laws under discussion and the press discussion taking place around these issues lie beyond the concerns of the NSA, that court did not consider the GUKPiW's recommendation to admit the evidence of the Institute of Court Law Studies "on the appropriateness of regulations changing penal law" and particularly the presentation of data "concerning the tendencies and magnitude of criminality according to certain types of crimes and observed changes in the structure of criminality".

#### V. Schedules Are Also Important

Finally, we must consider questions concerning the efficiency of proceedings. In as much as these are questions of a journalistic and legal nature, they concern the observance of legally-established schedules for certain actions and stages of proceedings in order to give them their greatest degree of efficiency.

The charge that these rights were violated were submitted by the plenipotentiary of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. The NSA considered the following:

It is not possible to reject in part the appropriateness of a charge that a censorship organ has violated legal provisions on the speed of its proceedings.

In accordance with article 13, paragraph 2, point 2 of the law on control of publications and public performances, the decision of the organ of the first instance should be issued no later than 7 days.

According to the decision reached by the Krakow District OUKPiW, Maciej Kozlowski's article "How to punish?" was submitted for preliminary review on 26 March 1985 and therefore in gross violation of the deadline stated by article 13, paragraph 2, point 2 of the law on control of publications and public performances. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY recalled its decision on 28 March 1985.

The GUKPiW received this together with the decision of the organ of the first instance on 5 April 1985 and made its final decision on 11 April and therefore within the period prescribed (article 13, paragraph 3, point 2). There is a lack of information as to when this decision reached the editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (no receiver's return notice was given).

The complaint about the decision was received on 25 April 1985 while the date of the complaint shows that it was made on 22 April. The text of the complaint states that the editors received the decision on 16 April 1985.

A reply to the complaint was made on 2 May 1985 while a copy of the complaint and reply reached the NSA on 6 May 1985.

On 8 May 1985, the order was issued call attention to the formal omissions in the GUKPiW act (lack of proof of having received the contested decision). It was necessary to make up these omissions in order to determine whether the complaint was submitted within the stipulated period of 7 days (article 15, paragraph 2). This order was executed the same day.

As early as the next day, i.e. 9 May 1985, the GUKPiW sent the NSA a letter stating that the post office had not brought a return notice accepting the decision and expressing the view that, due to the time needed for the post office to deliver the letter, the complaint was suspended in time.

As the above facts indicate, the suspended complaint against the GUKPiW that it had violated legal deadlines was entirely unjustified. However, the same complaint against the Krakow District OUKPiW was upheld.

Considering the above violations by the organ of the first instance, the GUKPiW (taking proper action that its subordinate organizations observe the correct procedures) still stated that these violations did not have any substantial influence on the decision.



It must be added that the documents of the case along with the complaint reached the NSA (after explanation of the formal omissions) on 9 May. As early as the next day, i.e. 10 May, the proceedings were set for 24 May 1985. This was the minimum amount of time needed for the post office to deliver an announcement of the date of the proceedings to the editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY and the author of the article whose address was unknown to the court. Return notifications of receipt were only received the day before the proceedings.

Finally, it must be pointed out that in matters concerning any ban of a publication or public performance, considering the need to maintain maximum efficiency of procedure, the complaints on these decisions are temporarily exempt from any payments: the NSA will determine their amount in its final adjudication (article 15, paragraph 3 of the law on control of publications and public performances). Thus, in accordance with law, the editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY would be temporarily exempted from paying court costs to the state treasury.

For all of the above reasons and in accordance with article 207, paragraph 5, the ruling was upheld.

12261  
CSO: 2600/979

POLAND

ACTION AGAINST ILLEGAL PUBLICATIONS, DISTRIBUTORS

Printers Seized in Poznan

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 4

[PAP communique: "In Poznan a Group of Illegal Distributors is Seized"]

[Text] Functionaries of the Province Office of Internal Affairs in Poznan have recently detained a conspiratorial group engaging in the distribution of illegal publications such as SOLIDARITY--POZNAN published by the so-called Provisional Board for the Wielkopolska Region. Considerable quantities of publications of an antistate nature and printing materials were confiscated. For the two suspects, Barbara D., a sophomore at the Professional Medical Studies Center in Poznan, and Krzysztof C., an employee of the Foreign Polonia Enterprise "Komplex EFC" in Poznan, the prosecutor has ordered provisional detention. Investigation of the matter is continuing.

'Anti-State' Activist Convicted in Szczecin

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 4

[PAP communique: "Two Years of Prison for Antistate Activity"]

[Text] The Regional Court in Szczecin considered the case of an inhabitant of that city, the 59-year old pensioner Jan Kostecki accused of antistate activity.

During the period between 30 November of last year and February 1985 he was -- as stated in the bill of indictment -- vice chairman of the illegally operating so-called regional, social Citizens' Committee for the Defense of Legality in the Western Pomeranian Region. Disregarding the warnings of the prosecutor, he sent declarations and appeals of an antistate nature, intended to disturb public order, to the authorities and state offices and institutions as well as abroad. Such also was the nature of the articles contained in the periodical OBRAZ, illegally published and distributed by that committee.

The court sentenced J. Kostecki to 2 years of deprivation of freedom.

Together with him, Edmund Baluka, the chairman of that committee, was to sit on the bench of the accused, but last April he submitted to the court a request for approving a trip abroad, to France, with the object of visiting his family. For humanitarian reasons, the court approved his request, on requiring bail. Since Baluka has not, despite a summons, appeared at the trial, the court decreed that his bail be forfeited and set aside his case for separate consideration.

The sentence is not legal [as published].

1386

CSO: 2600/859

POLAND

BRIEFS

BIELSKO DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETING--On 17 [Jul 85] in the afternoon the Bielsko-Biala Province Defense Committee held a circuit session in Mucharz Gmina [Parish] to evaluate socio-economic and political work in the region. Among other things, it evaluated the extent of economic activism, including investment activism at the Gmina SAMOPOMOC CHLOPSKA [Peasant Self-Help] Cooperative as regards the construction of new commercial and service facilities and the preparations for this year's harvesting operations in Mucharz Gmina. An inspection of the facilities revealed that, among other things, a great deal of agricultural machinery and equipment is unworkable owing to the lack of an appropriate quantity of spare parts. An increase in the supplies of spare parts for combine harvesters, mowers and sheafbinders was postulated. At its meeting the Committee also discussed questions of accelerating the construction of the new Swinna-Poreba Impounding Reservoir that would solve many social and economic problems in the Beskidy Piedmont area. [By (fez)] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Jul 85 p 2] 1386

INTERNAL AFFAIRS, REGIONAL MILITIA MEET--Yesterday the Chief of the Krakow Province Internal Affairs Office Brig Gen Dr Jerzy Gruba met with the aktiv of the Krakow ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens' Militia] organization. The main topic of that working meeting was the tasks facing the ORMO organization as regards counteracting negative social phenomena. Mention was also made of the effects so far of the organization's statutory activities in the context of the coming 40th anniversary of establishment of the ORMO. Gen Gruba in his address spoke extensively of the complex political and social conditions which will continue to require considerable activism from the entire organization. [Text] [Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 p 2] 1386

CSO: 2600/1003

YUGOSLAVIA

VIEWS OF LCY CC PRESIDIUUM ON ACHIEVING UNITY IN REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 85 (supplement) pp 1-13

[Document drafted to serve as the basis of discussion in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 July, TANJUG--The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee decided at its meeting on 16 April 1985 that it would become directly involved in examining the situation with respect to achieving unity and a sense of community in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia. The immediate occasion for this conclusion of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee was the situation that arose during preparations of the meeting of the LCY Central Committee on the topic "Implementing the Constitutional Conception of Relations in the Federation," within which the question of realizing the constitutional concept of SR Serbia and the SAP's [socialist autonomous province] was also to be dealt with. During examination of the principal material prepared for discussion in the Central Committee, there arose differing and indeed even opposed views between the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Presidia of the Provincial Committees of the Kosovo and Vojvodina LC's both with respect to the approach and also the evaluation of the results achieved in implementing the constitutional conception of SR Serbia and of the SAP's. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee has arrived at the judgment that this is a serious political problem indicative of differences in political conception related to these issues. It therefore commissioned a special working group to draw up for this purpose a proposal of assessments and directions of political-ideological activities to implement and advance relations consistent with the bylaws within the Serbian LC in connection with relations between the Serbian LC, the Kosovo LC and the Vojvodina LC and the constitutional concept of SR Serbia [original reads "Serbian LC"] and the SAP's, which will be specifically taken up in a session of the Presidium. On that basis it would approve the final version of the assessments and positions on these matters for inclusion in the principal material for the meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

The point of departure in drafting this analysis was the Conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, according to which the LCY, and especially the Serbian LC Central Committee, as well as the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC and the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC, is responsible for development and advancement of relations in SR Serbia, which are in the interest of SR Serbia and the SAP's, as well as in the interest of

Yugoslavia as a whole. The judgment is that in a situation when relations in SR Serbia and in the Serbian LC deteriorate because over a lengthy period a number of important issues have not been resolved, and this has jeopardized agreements reached up to now on particular matters which have been in dispute and which threaten the results which have been achieved, the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium cannot stand aloof.

They have a duty and responsibility to help the leadership of the Serbian LC, the Kosovo LC and the Vojvodina LC and to contribute, consistently with their respective roles, to the searching for solutions, especially mindful that this problem, given the problematical socioeconomic and political conditions, is essentially impeding efforts at overall social stabilization.

The working group has studied the available materials, has held talks in the Presidia of the Provincial Committees of the Kosovo LC and Vojvodina LC and in the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and on that basis has written this document as the basis for consideration of these issues in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

#### Basic Assessments of the Problem

The situation in SR Serbia and in the Serbian LC with respect to relations between the republics and provinces is burdened with serious political-ideological differences in the interpretation and implementation of the essence of the constitutional commitments, which have been leading toward ever more frequent and open confrontations. These differences are concentrated on two basic and comprehensive issues: first, on implementation of the constitutional position of SR Serbia and of the SAP's, and second, on relations in the Serbian LC, on the importance and application of democratic centralism in the Serbian LC, on achievement of the unity of the Serbian LC and the equal position, independence and responsibility of the LC organizations of the provinces within the LCY. These differences are manifested in differing assessments of the degree of unity and community spirit required and achieved in the republic as well as in views concerning cooperation in the economy, in culture and in other fields of the life of society.

At the base of these differences are political-ideological differences in approaching the questions of the unity of SR Serbia, the purpose and content of that unity and community spirit and the ways of achieving them, the way the constitution has structured SR Serbia and the constitutional conception of the socialist autonomous provinces, which are parts of SR Serbia and at the same time a constituent element of federalism. Those are the key problems in the entire conflict.

The institutional establishment and functioning of SR Serbia as a state and as a self-managing community is positive as an important question concerning the right of the Serbian people to form its own state just like the other nationalities in the SFRY, a right which has not been altogether exercised, since the constitutional principle that the provinces are part of SR Serbia has not been consistently realized in practice. It is said in the Serbian LC that the institutional structure of the republic contained in the constitution does not

in any way hinder achievement of autonomy by the provinces, that is, that their expression and participation in building federal relations must not come into conflict with the fact that they are part of SR Serbia. It is felt that continuation of the tendencies toward achievement of an autonomy which would be set up in opposition to the unity of the republic is mutilating SR Serbia, reducing it to its more restricted territory, and is turning the provinces de facto into republics, and the republic into a federation, which destroys the entire constitutional conception. The counterrevolutionary events and operation of the irredenta in Kosovo, with the demand to turn Kosovo into a republic, represent an additional burden in these relations.

The endeavor to reestablish the constitutional identity and sociopolitical unity of SR Serbia, without the indispensable accentuation and acknowledgement of the constitutional principle that the working people and citizens and nationalities and ethnic minorities in the SAP's are to exercise their sovereign rights in the province as an autonomous socialist, self-governing and democratic sociopolitical community, aside from those rights which in the common interest the constitution has stated they are to exercise within SR Serbia and within the SFRY, is perceived and interpreted as a threat to the autonomy and an imposition of legislative discipline by a statist-centralistic method which is not consistent with the arrangements contained in the constitution.

These differences, especially when the arrangements contained in the constitution are one-sidedly interpreted, as relations now stand, are dividing the public and the rank-and-file of the LC, are introducing many dilemmas and political-ideological vagueness, are arousing dissatisfaction and concern in a large portion of the working people and citizens and are encouraging divisions along ethnic and other lines. They have grown into a major political-ideological problem which is destroying the political and economic stability of SR Serbia, of the SAP's Kosovo and Vojvodina, which are part of it, and of the entire Yugoslav community. In some of the polemics on these issues, in public statements and in the press, political-ideological arguments and conceptions have even been expressed in which solutions would be sought on foundations contrary to the constitution of the SFRY and the commitments of the LCY. This is causing dilemmas even with respect to the very policy of the LCY concerning those issues, is resulting in political-ideological disunity, and is seriously restricting the possibility for action of the socialist forces in arranging relations in SR Serbia consistent with principle.

The attempts made in recent years to overcome that situation, which has lasted for quite a long time now, by a unified political-ideological action on the part of all members and organizations of the Serbian LC, have not been resolute enough or well enough organized and coordinated because of the differing approach and the differing views of the unsolved problems. In spite of the existence of the unambiguous political-ideological commitments and views expressed in the conclusions of the 18th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee dating from January 1982 and the decisions of the 9th Serbian LC Congress, the views of the organizations of the Vojvodina LC and the Kosovo LC expressed at conferences, the organizations and entities of the LC in the republic and provinces have not managed to overcome the problems and in resolving them to achieve a fuller mobilization of all sociopolitical organizations and official

bodies in the republic and provinces. At present the leadership bodies of the Serbian, Kosovo and Vojvodina LC are unsuccessful in elaborating a unified political-ideological platform for practical action in solving the problems and in overcoming the crisis that has come about, a platform that would also rally other sociopolitical organizations and official bodies in the republic and the provinces and which would lead toward a general political mobilization in carrying out that platform. In the absence of that kind of organized action, even the positions contained in the "Political Platform for Action of the LCY Concerning Development of Socialist Self-Management, Brotherhood and Unity and Sense of Community in Kosovo" are being differently interpreted and unequally implemented in everyday practice. In such a situation the danger threatens of political space being left open to spontaneity and thereby to the operation of forces opposed to socialism and self-management which are brought together above all by a nationalistic ideology, all of which contributes to the further destabilization of overall relations in society. Up to now there has also not been the necessary specific action and assistance on the part of official bodies of the LCY in clarifying more fully and resolving the problems that have arisen in SR Serbia. These problems are a part of overall political relations in the SFRY, which is why they cannot be resolved without the active contribution of the LCY and its official bodies, as was stated in the conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

There exist essential differences in the interpretation of the constitution and in assessments concerning the level of achievement of certain of its provisions. Behind those differences there stand differing motives and interests. Commitments as to whether these relations shall be arranged on the basis of principle and on the question of whether the constitutional arrangements are appropriate, or do those arrangements need to be stated more precisely and supplemented, also depend on the interest of maintaining the present situation, in which certain constitutional arrangements essential to achieving the constitutional concept of the republic and the SAP's are not being applied or on the interest in seeing a change in that situation, respectively. Appeals to the authority and omnipotence of the constitutional arrangements are actually attempts to justify the LC and other subjective social forces in SR Serbia and the SAP's for their insufficient activity, creativity and responsibility to arrive at a single interpretation of the constitutional arrangements in a practical socialist action full of responsiveness and mutual responsibility and to develop a practice that would be based on constitutional principles and would essentially advance the relations of unity and community in this complicated sociopolitical community. In the absence of that kind of political action, the objective contradictions and confrontations are attempting to play themselves out almost exclusively through constitutional norms, by means of their formal interpretation or demands that they be changed. This situation and the differences that have arisen are in large part also being carried over to the conceptions and interpretations of relations within the League of Communists of Serbia.

Work on creative application of the constitution, which is indispensable since it has to do with developing and building socialist social relations, has not been intensive enough, nor in proportion to the complexity of those problems. The application and elaboration of the constitution have often taken place in



the midst of disputes and differing interpretations, especially when it was a question of legislative arrangement of relations within the republic, so that the constitutional principles were not sufficiently elaborated in the solutions that were adopted, so that in certain cases there was not much progress beyond the constitutional formulations themselves. The causes of this situation lie largely in certain adverse tendencies which are a phenomenon manifested generally in our society. The autarkic conception and practice of confining socioeconomic development to the limits of the sociopolitical communities, including both the republics and the provinces, one-sided development of the conception of those communities which has been set forth by emphasizing their state component, the retention of statist relations above all in the sphere of decisionmaking concerning expanded reproduction, which restricts the resources of society, that is, the surplus value of labor, to the boundaries of the opstinas, republics and provinces, is leading to disintegration of associated labor and to disintegration in other domains of the life of society. The strong statist-bureaucratic attitude which lies at the base of those processes is the foundation of autarky and exclusiveness both in the economic sphere as well as in the domain of political relations and the political system and is making it more difficult to accomplish the production relation of self-management which is the basis of the equality and freedom of the nationalities and the ethnic minorities, of the rule and of the self-management of the working class in every sociopolitical community. That attitude is essentially standing in the way of realization of the interests which are objectively expressed in the reproduction of the material and social life of SR Serbia, in the economic and other activities of the workers, of the working people, and of their organizations and communities regardless of provincial and republic boundaries, and often it is even preventing obstacles in the way of their establishing ties and associations consistent with self-management from being removed.

In that context the problems of relations in SR Serbia, which are especially characterized by a weakening of unity and sense of community, are a part of similar tendencies in the Yugoslav community as a whole, but they are also specific because of the composite nature of SR Serbia as a state and as a socialist self-managing sociopolitical community including the constituent SAP's, which are at the same time structural elements of federalism. Statist tendencies in the approach to these problems are especially manifested in the absolutization of the role of the state and of the statehood of SR Serbia as the sole expression of the unity of SR Serbia, but also in the negation of that statehood as set forth in the constitution in favor of a strengthening of the de facto statehood of the SAP's. Both tendencies are an expression of that consciousness which cannot reconcile itself to the fact that relations among the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the SFRY cannot be based on statist foundations, nor can relations in SR Serbia be resolved through conflicts or indeed even deals between the statist forces.

In a political-ideological elucidation of these tendencies one should especially bear in mind that our society as a whole is being hit by a wave of an un-Marxist view of the state and of statehood from the opstina to the Federation outside the historical context of the class holder of power and sovereignty, that is, bypassing the power and decisive role of the working class in

our society in performance of government functions and the making of decisions concerning the surplus value of labor. Such views are most frequently expressed in the form of the bourgeois outlook, that is, technobureaucratic absolutization, or the anarchistic and liberalistic negation of the state, which takes as its point of departure the illusion that the role of the state and the coercion of the state are an incidental and unimportant element of the political system of socialist self-management, and not at the present level of development one of the essential conditions of the stability and further progress of our socialist self-management society. Neither the one view nor the other is cognizant that the basic class issue is to achieve self-management and the production relation of socialist self-management in which the ruling social position of the working class is expressed, nor that the state in its conventional social form and content withers away insofar as socialist self-management develops and is accomplished, and conversely, that the role of the state is in actuality strengthened if self-management falters.

The demand to strengthen the state at any price and beyond the constitutional limits is not and cannot be a demand of our communist movement, which is fighting for the class character of national sovereignty and for the equal co-operation of every ethnic group with the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the Yugoslav socialist community on the basis of self-management, not by means of the state on statist foundations. From that standpoint theses concerning the lesser or greater degree of danger from statism at whatever level of social organization are equally unacceptable. The fight for prevailing power over social resources in "one's own" sociopolitical community by the statist-bureaucratic structures, which have been appropriating the status of exclusive interpreter of the interests of their own nationality, republic or province, especially in the situation where the surplus value of labor is significantly alienated from the working class and from self-managing associated labor, inevitably leads to a conflict among the "capital resources of the nationalities." In the political area these tendencies lead to confrontation between the republic and "provincial" states, which stands both in the way of affirmation of the nationality and ethnic minority and also in the way of the self-management character of the Federation, the republics and provinces, and it ultimately leads to the breakup of Yugoslavia. In the situation where self-management is faltering, one segment of social consciousness seeks a way out through the strengthening of statism. That is why an action on the part of the socialist forces must by pursuing our strategic commitments overcome that stagnation of self-management and thereby create real foundations for community life, equality and free development of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities, based on the historic interest of the working class, as well as the basis for performance of the constitutional functions of the state on that basis.

In addition to these extreme tendencies, there are also objective differences and indeed even contradictory differences involved, and many problems also arise from them. The impact of all these processes on relations in SR Serbia and on the interests which are given institutional form on that basis, both in the bodies of SR Serbia and also the SAP's, has not been sufficiently examined and analyzed to date. The present situation indicates that the political-ideological clarification and formation of a clear awareness of all these

phenomena, tendencies, contradictions and differences, which at present is largely lacking, is an indispensable condition for more successful resolution of the outstanding problems and the one-sidedness and exclusiveness, which has now taken on considerable proportions and which will otherwise make such an action more difficult.

Preparation of an objective analysis would contribute greatly to assessing the results so far in building unity and community spirit realistically, instead of their being interpreted differently. It is indisputable that in spite of the many problems and obstacles numerous self-management ties have been forged and cooperation achieved in associated labor in the sectors of energy, food and raw material production, trade in goods and services, between individual industrial collectives, as well as in the fields of science, the schools, culture, and then individual public organizations, local communities, opstinas and other entities, but there are also cases of a one-sided severing of such ties. A majority of uniform laws have been enacted on the basis of the constitution, although this has involved many misunderstandings and differences in approach as well as in assessment as to whether the content of those laws has in certain cases been reduced to a formality. However, there is still a lag in the enactment of certain important laws, in the enforcement of measures to fulfill the social plan of the republic, which would also mean creating the conditions for more rapid integration of self-management, a lag in building up the legislation based on agreements, etc. On the whole the results have not been satisfactory, since that level of self-management integration has not been achieved either in the republic or Yugoslavia which would correspond to the present and long-range interests of the working class, the needs for development of the productive forces and present-day production, which is indispensable to overcoming more rapidly the autarky of the sociopolitical communities, to opening them up and establishing ties and cooperation, especially insofar as the self-management pooling of labor and capital is concerned, since the further construction of the production relation of self-management as a whole depends decisively on this. These processes are being slowed up especially by the differing views as to the level of unity and community spirit achieved and necessary, and those views are having an essential impact on future unified action in that direction.

In relations between the agencies and leadership bodies of the republic and provinces there have been serious disagreements and standoffs, mutual mistrust and a tense atmosphere, which has an essential impact on sociopolitical life, on development of business and other activities of society, on the taking of decisions in the Assembly of SR Serbia and on the activity of the LC and other sociopolitical organizations. It is precisely for those reasons that the Serbian LC has lacked a unified and up-to-date action program adopted throughout the entire republic for the political-ideological effort in the spirit of the policy and commitments in principle of the LCY, on which basis the Serbian LC would operate as a unified entity with respect to its organization, political ideology and action and would also serve as the basis for joint exploration for solutions in all agencies and organizations in the republic and provinces with respect to achieving the constitutional status of SR Serbia and the SAP's and also concerning the other problems of unity and community spirit in the republic and problems concerning the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities within it.

Other evidence of this lies in the destiny of the conclusions of the 18th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee in 1981, and much the same happened to the decisions of the 1982 congress. Those conclusions and decisions unanimously established the tasks of party members with respect to achieving unity and community spirit in SR Serbia, but up to now, in spite of the efforts that have been made, not enough has been achieved in carrying them out. However, the bodies of the LC have not so far put on the agenda the performance of these tasks either in the provinces or in the republic, nor have they jointly examined the causes of the related disagreements.

There is a particular lack of analyses of the causes, which lie in the composite economic and social structure of SR Serbia, including SAP Kosovo as one of the most economically underdeveloped regions in Yugoslavia, SAP Vojvodina as a large source of raw materials which is having major difficulties in becoming part of the division of labor on the Yugoslav and international markets, and with the other part of the republic, which has been lagging in economic development for a long time now. Along this road there has been no examination of the contradictions which arise in the conditions of the economic crisis, of the inroads of statism and the serious falterings in the development of self-management, nor of the degree to which those basic contradictions bring about statist-bureaucratic exclusiveness and a conflict between the provinces and the republic on that basis.

In the demands for unity, in a portion of the press and in a segment of public opinion at large the governmental and legal aspect of that unity is not uncommonly accentuated; this does have its social purport, but the unity of the republic cannot be reduced to that aspect. At the same time, in the provinces they often neglect the governmental and legal aspect and emphasize only the self-management dimension of unity. On the basis of those one-sided interpretations and the unresolved problems separatistic consciousness on the one hand and centralistic-unitaristic consciousness on the other are nurtured and created, and Albanian nationalism and irredentism, Serbian nationalism and other nationalisms are strengthened. That conflict has gone to the point where instead of a unified view and responsibility for relations in SR Serbia, behavior has predominated to a considerable degree whereby only autonomy is defended in the provinces, and only statehood in the republic. These criteria have become important for relations in the Serbian LC as well, which is why personnel in the Serbian LC have in large part come in fact to be divided along geographic lines. This is one of the reasons why there have been polemics unmindful of principle and intolerance in the discussion in certain meetings of the central and provincial committees of the LC, of their presidia and of their working bodies. This has also been favored by shortcomings in the method of preparing those meetings, since not enough consideration was given to the need for prior consultations and discussions so that responsibility would be discharged for the political-ideological unity of party members in the Serbian LC in line with the principles of democratic centralism. These discussions are especially necessary because of the sharp and major differences in the approach of party members to many problems of relations in SR Serbia, and that overall situation and postponement of the search for actual solutions threatens serious consequences even for the unity of the LCY, since there is a real danger that personnel in other parts of the LCY will also begin to commit themselves and take sides in that conflict.

## Final Political-Ideological Views

Only the political-ideological commitments of the LCY, expressed in the views of congresses and in the foundations and principles of the constitution, can stand as the point of departure and framework for solving the complicated problems that have accumulated concerning relations in SR Serbia. Full agreement has been reached on this in the talks conducted by the working group in the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and in the Presidia of the Provincial Committees of the Kosovo and Vojvodina LC's. Proceeding from that fundamental position, it is necessary to develop a political-ideological action aimed at eliminating the present causes and hotbeds of conflict and the outstanding problems in achieving the constitutional status of SR Serbia and the SAP's, which are concentrated above all around the issues of how to develop the unity of SR Serbia as a state and self-managing socialist democratic community and the autonomy of the provinces as self-managing socialist democratic sociopolitical communities, harmoniously achieving both of their attributes, as a constituent part of the republic and as a constituent element of the Yugoslav Federation.

The League of Communists and the other subjective forces and self-managing and political bodies and organizations in SR Serbia, SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo must make maximum efforts to resolve these problems of relations in SR Serbia and the Serbian LC as soon as possible. They have to be resolved through much faster and more consistent development of socialist self-management as an expression of the rule of the working class and of all the working people, and on that basis by a strengthening of brotherhood, unity and equality of all our nationalities and ethnic minorities. The problems which have arisen must be resolved responsibly, in a democratic atmosphere of mutual tolerance and realistic examination of the situation through a creative discussion of all the issues and problems in organizations and bodies of the LC and in other political and self-management institutions, combined with resolute opposition to all attempts of nationalistic, separatistic, unitaristic, bureaucratic-dogmatic and liberalistic forces to take advantage of the situation that has been created for their own political ends.

The greatest responsibility lies on the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Provincial Committees of the Vojvodina and Kosovo LC's and on party members in the bodies of the republic and the province for more rapid resolution of the problems and for improvement of relations in SR Serbia and the Serbian LC. The activity of the LC in resolving these problems should be aimed in the following directions:

1

Through consistent application and creative elaboration of the constitution to guarantee the building of SR Serbia as "a self-managing socialist democratic sociopolitical community of the working people and citizens and of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, as the state of the Serbian nationality, of members of other nationalities of Yugoslavia and ethnic minorities within Serbia, based on the sovereignty of the people and on the rule and self-management of the working class and all the working people," and as a composite



sociopolitical community in which the SAP's are fully manifested as "autonomous socialist democratic, sociopolitical communities based on the rule and self-management of the working class and of all the working people in which the working people and citizens, nationalities and ethnic minorities exercise their sovereign rights, and also in the republics when the constitution of SR Serbia has so set forth in the common interest of the working people and citizens and nationalities and ethnic minorities of the republic as a whole," both as an integral part of the republic and as a constituent element of federalism. Proceeding from that constitutional position, the SAP's are vitally interested in and at the same time responsible for achievement of all the common interests and functions in the republic as set forth in the constitution and thereby also for their own development and for the overall development and stability of SR Serbia and the SFRY. The integrity of SR Serbia as the state of the Serbian nationality and the segments of other nationalities and ethnic minorities which live in it and exercise their sovereign rights and the sovereignty of the Serbian people in it may not be jeopardized, since that would equally jeopardize the constitutional order of the republic, the autonomous provinces and the SFRY. In our socialist self-managing community that sovereignty has been expressed from the beginning and must be consistently expressed as the sovereignty of the working class and of all the working people, who are the holders of power and the leading social force, and accordingly also the holder of ethnic and governmental sovereignty both within the republic and also in the Federation. It is in this that the working class nature of our society is manifested, and this is the basis of degovernmentalization and the direction for the withering away of the state, which must be accomplished more rapidly and consistently--through the further strengthening and development of socialist self-management. From that standpoint there has to be a decisive showdown with the extremist arguments, which absolutize conventional statehood, seeking in it a personification of national sovereignty outside its class essence and character, which also signifies outside the constitutional concept of our social system.

Achievement of the unity of SR Serbia and the simultaneous achievement of the autonomy of the provinces are two sides of the same process which have to be carried out in their mutual conditionality and unity. Faltering or inconsistency in the development of either of those two components signifies a destruction of the constitutional concept and disintegration and destabilization of the SAP's, of SR Serbia and of Yugoslavia.

The provinces must be responsible to the same degree for autonomy as for unity and self-management integration within the republic, just as the republic must be equally responsible for consistent achievement of the autonomy of the provinces as for the unity and community spirit of the republic. That principle must become dominant in relations in SR Serbia. The present state of relations in SR Serbia is in large part the consequence of faltering in achieving certain essential functions of SR Serbia, indeed even with respect to achieving the constitutional conception that the SAP's within SR Serbia are also constituent elements of the SFRY.

Since a serious faltering has come about on that basis in building the unity and community spirit in the republic, there is an urgent need to mobilize all

the subjective forces and all activities around that task. It must be borne in mind that the constitution and normative enactments can define only the basic directions, institutions and forms, which certainly helps to overcome the problems and difficulties, but the content and the specific relations are built only by everyday practice and socialist action on the part of the working people, their self-management and public bodies, and sociopolitical organizations. Without that kind of action it is not possible to overcome statism, which lies at the basis of these adverse processes throughout Yugoslav society, and so therefore in SR Serbia as well.

2

The involvement of the assemblies and other delegate bodies, above all constitutional commissions and professional and scientific institutions in the republic and provinces should on the basis of critical analysis of past practice and precisely on behalf of consistent achievement of the essence of the constitutional solutions clear up as soon as possible the dilemma of whether in the normative section of the constitution of SR Serbia and the constitutions of the SAP's there are vague provisions or provisions which have not been sufficiently elaborated and which constitute an impediment to achieving unity in the republic. The discussions conducted so far and the present analyses, especially in the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of SR Serbia, have shown that the main question raised in this regard has to do with the scope and content of laws which are uniformly enforced over the territory of all of SR Serbia, the manner of their enactment and relations with respect to their enforcement, along with questions related to the enactment and enforcement of the social plan of SR Serbia (Articles 300 and 305 of the Constitution of SR Serbia). That effort, proceeding from the basic constitutional concept of the republic and the provinces set forth in the SFRY Constitution and setting forth the directions of further activity in carrying out the constitution, should answer the questions of whether differences in interpretation of these provisions can be eliminated by an unambiguous interpretation or whether those articles of the Constitutions of SR Serbia and the SAP's need greater precision and additional work. If it is found that such additions are necessary, their direction and scope needs to be jointly established, as well as the program of activities to make them. That would put a politically responsible end to the polemics about this debatable issue and would eliminate this problem from political life, since perpetuation of these disputes is becoming an excuse for undertaking nothing and changing nothing in the existing relations.

3

Through responsible relations and a creative effort on the part of the official bodies of the republic and provinces, above all the assemblies and the entire delegate mechanism, enactment of the rest of the uniform laws in SR Serbia envisaged by the constitution should be guaranteed, including working out the constitutional basis for individual laws for which that basis is at issue. Uniform enforcement of all laws enacted should also be guaranteed. In this connection, proceeding consistently on the basis of the essence of the constitution, these relations must not be regulated and established in a formalistic way, thereby removing [sic] the appearance of unity where in

actuality it has not even been established yet. That is why it is of key importance that these laws and other enactments be aimed at stimulating and building the uniform production relation of socialist self-management, through which the single interest of the working class, the working people and citizens is expressed. This is the real social foundation for broadening the processes of self-management integration in all domains of the life of society, for strengthening unity and community spirit, and the guarantee of equality and the full freedom of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in SR Serbia. On that same basis it is possible to broaden legislation based on agreements to a considerable extent (Article 301 of the Constitution of SR Serbia), as an expression of the common interests of the working class and the nationalities and ethnic minorities that actually exist and on which unity and community spirit in the republic are strengthened. In that approach the amount of the uniform legislation cannot be raised as an issue in formal law as to restricting or broadening powers and hierarchical relations, but is rather posed as the real need to regulate and elaborate uniformly within the constitutional framework those social relations which in keeping with the Constitution of SR Serbia are dealt with in uniform laws. If this kind of consistent approach is taken to building up the body of uniform legislation, then it cannot threaten the room either for the independent regulation of social relations in the legislation of the provinces, which arises out of their constitutional status, rights and responsibilities, nor for those specific elements necessitated by their economic and social structure, ethnic composition and other living and working conditions of the working people and citizens. It is in that way that the reasons will also be eliminated for conflicts and disagreements to arise on less important issues.

The practice of spontaneously introducing consensus, that is, the mandatory agreement of bodies and agencies in the republic and in the provinces where this has not been envisaged by the constitution cannot be accepted in the procedure for enactment of uniform laws in the Assembly of SR Serbia, but at the same time the necessary consultations and reconciliation of interests in a manner proper to the delegate system may not be bypassed in the name of "efficiency," especially when the interests of the provinces as sociopolitical and self-governing communities with a special constitutional status are involved. It is also absolutely necessary to guarantee that the specific attributes of SR Serbia and the SAP's are fully respected in federal legislation within the limits established by the SFRY Constitution.

4

In the process of implementing the uniform laws the constitutional principle and relationship is to be guaranteed to the effect that agencies in the provinces are responsible for their enforcement, since the uniform laws are also their laws. This requires that in mutual relations between the authorities of the republic and the authorities of the provinces mutual collaboration, information and agreement is to develop and be guaranteed, so that conditions are created so that the authorities of the republic, within the limits of their constitutional powers, can bear responsibility for the situation in the republic. In cases when certain provincial authorities are not enforcing republic enactments for whose enforcement and application they are responsible, the



Executive Council of the Assembly of SR Serbia in addition to calling this fact to the attention of the appropriate authorities of the SAP, must also inform the Assembly of SR Serbia, which did in fact enact that piece of legislation. With respect to the powers of the individual bodies and agencies of the republic, especially where problems and disputes have cropped up in practice, it is indispensable that the questions at issue be cleared up through the joint effort of the authorities of the republic and the SAP's on the basis of the constitution and that specific solutions, mutual rights and obligations be established in the competent agencies of SR Serbia consistent with their constitutional functions, and if necessary they must be precisely stated in legal provisions or other general acts.

5

The consistent pursuit of common interests in SR Serbia is to be based on the interests of the working class, on the historical interest of the Serbian nationality and the parts of other nationalities and ethnic minorities which live in SR Serbia, on their joint revolutionary achievements, which have been set forth in the constitution of SR Serbia and cannot be constantly questioned once again. One-sided attempts to alter, diminish or broaden their scope in the application of the constitution are unconstitutional.

It is the obligation and responsibility of all social entities in SR Serbia and the SAP's to build up common interests. This effort must be based on direct cooperation and entering into agreement by basic and other organizations of associated labor, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managing organizations and communities, sociopolitical communities, sociopolitical organizations and public organizations based on the voluntary activity of citizens in all areas. Sociopolitical organizations and the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities must constantly stimulate and support these processes so as to overcome their present faltering and reduction mainly to the activity of government agencies. The demand for a higher degree of community spirit is a demand of the present-day productive forces and of progressive social consciousness. There is an absolute need, then, for much broader and better organized self-management activity and for opening the way in all directions for collaboration and self-management integration in production and other activities, to initiative from the grass roots, and not only a waiting around for the solutions embodying the system to come "from above." This is the way in which a more resolute political battle must be waged against exclusiveness and separation. This is a condition for putting an end to the processes of disintegration more rapidly and going out to meet the present needs of self-management integration of society and of its productive forces. The fight for that kind of development of unity and community spirit in the republic is at the same time a fight for and contribution to a higher degree of that unity and community spirit in Yugoslavia. The responsibility of SR Serbia, the SAP's and all entities within them for the stability of relations in the Federation on the principles of the constitutional system must also be expressed through that struggle.

Unity of SR Serbia and common interests within it as set forth in the constitution are to be guaranteed, since this is an essential prerequisite of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Ethnic equality is one of the principal values and goals of our revolution. Self-management has created a historical opportunity for that equality to be enriched with real and comprehensive socialist social content. The basis of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities consists of the entire social, economic and cultural equality of people in the workplace, in the local community, in the opstina, in the provinces, in the republics and in the Federation. The SAP's also enrich the political, social and economic content of their autonomy through that kind of development of socialist relations and ethnic equality in all spheres of the life of society on the foundations of self-management. The unity of SR Serbia and achievement of its constitutional status as a state and as a self-governed sociopolitical community, is an expression and condition of that kind of status of the nationalities and ethnic minorities which live in SR Serbia and which have their own state in it together with the Serbian nationality. By exercising their sovereign rights within it they also contribute to affirmation of the sovereignty of the Serbian nationality. The rights and responsibilities which the nationalities exercise and discharge in the autonomous provinces, the republic and the SFRY express their real equality with the members of the Serbian nationality and other nationalities with whom they live in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

However, building real unity and community spirit is a process based on real interest, and it cannot be shattered wherever life itself is imposing common interests, nor can it be artificially imposed where those interests do not exist. From that standpoint there is an absolute need to vigorously oppose attempts to express under the guise of "ethnic" and "regional" interests extreme centralistic theses on the one hand and separatism, demands for actual statehood of the provinces or for their actual equivalence to the republics on the other. All of these theses are profoundly reactionary, since they lead to ethnic division and isolationism, and that in a region with a multinational composition, and they are utterly contrary to Yugoslavia's socialist system of self-management. They burden the stabilization of interethnic relations as well to the greatest degree.

The stability of interethnic relations also depends on further democratization of relations in the Federation, the republics, the provinces, opstinas and all self-managed organizations and communities and on consistent achievement of their constitutional status. That is why the LC in the provinces, the Serbian LC and the LCY need to wage a fight to establish and develop those relations consistent with the present and historical interests of the working class, to contribute to the greater freedom and equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and to the strengthening of their self-management integration, on which the constitutional concept rests and which is indispensable in the context of the normal strengthening of the interdependence of nationalities and countries and of the processes of interethnic integration.

The fact that in spite of the results which have been achieved the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo have not yet been overcome is placing a special burden on interethnic relations in SR Serbia. The most drastic expression of that situation is the continuation of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under pressure. This situation is more and more becoming one of the central political problems of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia as a whole and is objectively jeopardizing many of our fundamental values, principles and commitments on which interethnic relations and the constitutional concept of relations in the Federation and in SR Serbia are based. The consequences of that situation are reflected most gravely in interethnic relations, the overall political situation and social climate in SAP Kosovo, SR Serbia and the entire Yugoslav community. All of this is being taken advantage of by the Albanian, Serbian and other nationalities to spread chauvinistic enmity and to attack the foundations of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities.

Political-ideological and other social efforts are under way to stabilize overall social conditions in that province. In spite of the great efforts of the political leadership, the LC and other socialist self-managing forces of Kosovo, the activities are not at present adequate to overcome the irredenta, to fully guarantee political-ideological differentiation within the LC and to create the conditions for solving the urgent economic, ethnic and other problems. The commitment of the LCY as a whole is obviously inadequate, as indeed is that of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium in carrying out the political platform for action of the LCY and to develop socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and a spirit of community in Kosovo, which cannot be and is not the task solely of party members of Serbia and Kosovo. In the unified action of party members and of all the socialist forces of Yugoslavia the greatest responsibility for interethnic relations in Kosovo is borne by the Albanians, who represent a majority of the population in the province, and accordingly by the Serbian nationality in the Republic of Serbia. Members of other nationalities and ethnic minorities living in Kosovo must also bear their part of the responsibility. In the present situation extremely unscrupulous pressure has been exerted in some of the press, the publishing industry and in certain public statements on the forces of the organized socialist action, pressure for creating distrust of those personnel of Albanian, Serbian and Montenegrin nationality who have been carrying the burden of the fight against the irredenta and the counterrevolution as well as of the political differentiation and stabilization of relations and life in SAP Kosovo. Such occurrences should be combated most vigorously.

7

An endeavor is to be made to achieve self-management integration in the SAP's and SR Serbia, as well as throughout the unified economic space of Yugoslavia, above all by strengthening direct self-management ties and through integration of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, and to eliminate all the statist-bureaucratic obstacles to the stepping up of those processes. In this connection it is absolutely necessary to start with the constructive examples of those ties and of cooperation in the field of production, scientific, cultural and other cooperation, whose intensity and

quality are now being differently evaluated. The tendencies toward autarky through statist restriction of flows of resources for social reproduction, bureaucratic mediation and separation in the name of affirmation of the ethnic or regional interest should be overcome through that integration and cooperation, above all on the principles of pooling labor and capital. Consolidation of that kind of flow of self-management integration requires creation of the fundamental socioeconomic prerequisites, above all with respect to the position of the worker as the decisionmaker concerning the surplus value of labor, and elimination of the economic and social obstacles to that kind of linkage in SR Serbia and on the unified Yugoslav market and economic space as a whole, and the stimulation of all forms of self-management pooling of labor and capital through the measures and instruments of economic policy.

That kind of direction should also be expressed through consistent construction and application of the system of social planning in the republic. The social plan of SR Serbia should also contain the economic policy which is in the common interest of the republic as a whole. The authorities of SR Serbia and the SAP's are responsible for enactment of that plan and for its content and fulfillment. The Constitution of SR Serbia and the Constitutions of SAP Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo have set forth the common interests which are to be the basis and framework for enactment of the republic plan, which is based on a social compact among all planning entities in SR Serbia concerning the economic policy which is in their common interest. These interests are to be set forth and pursued in the plan of the republic and the plans of the provinces as their common interest and need in development. The social plan of SR Serbia and the social plans of the provinces, and also the social compacts and self-management accords should also specifically state obligations for pursuit of the common interests and goals in development of the republic and the responsibility of the entities of the republics and provinces for enacting economic policy measures consistent with the guidelines and framework set forth in the republic's social plan. To that end the normative and other conditions should be created so that the social plan of the republic for the coming period, with all the elements of the joint policy is enacted in good time on those principles and fulfilled because obligations are assumed and mutual rights and responsibilities of all entities in social planning are elaborated.

The competent authorities of the republic and the SAP's are responsible for overcoming the disputes there have been in the past as to the constitutional basis for enactment of the law on the social plan of SR Serbia and concerning the procedure for enactment of the plan, and they are also responsible for finding solutions consistent with the constitution which guaranteed the legal security or stability of legislation concerning the plan.

8

As a part of the efforts to strengthen the processes of self-management linkage in associated labor, the processes of integration should be stepped up toward the goal of a still greater contribution to the faster development of SAP Kosovo as a markedly underdeveloped part of our country. To that end there is a need for the competent authorities of the Federation, above all the SFRY Assembly, to adopt a basically favorable attitude toward the proposal of the

Serbian LC Central Committee that the portion of resources set aside by organizations of associated labor in SR Serbia on the basis of the federal requirement be committed through a direct relationship in self-management association with organizations of associated labor in SAP Kosovo. This proposal should be taken up as part of the discussions of the further transformation of the Federal Fund for Credit Financing the Economically Underdeveloped Republics and SAP Kosovo on the principles of the self-management pooling of labor and capital. Implementing that proposal presupposes that the competent authorities of the Federation would always be monitoring the process of commitment and furnishing of these resources so that all the resources envisaged would be pooled in the course of the year. Insofar as the amount of resources established is not committed through direct self-management association, it must be pooled in the same manner as the resources of the other republics. That kind of solution, which would also apply to the direct self-management association of the resources of organizations of associated labor from SAP Vojvodina and which also offers prospects for more successful solution of the problem of the inadequate economic development of other regions in Yugoslavia, would contribute in the framework of a uniform system for stimulation of more rapid development of the underdeveloped socialist republics and SAP Kosovo to a strengthening of self-management integration in SR Serbia, to intensification of the economic development of SAP Kosovo, to the self-management linkage of the working class and all the working people, and to promotion of interethnic relations in SR Serbia, as in fact is demanded in the political platform for the action of the LCY in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, and the spirit of community in Kosovo. It can yield those results only if the pooling of resources is based to the greatest degree on the principles of realizing joint revenues and income and if this is done within the framework established by the social plans of Yugoslavia, of SR Serbia and of the other socialist republics, of SAP Vojvodina, and especially by the social plan of SAP Kosovo. This would at the same time eliminate the danger of the republic's unity being established and maintained on the basis of statist and centralistic relations.

9

Proceeding from the essence of the principles stated in the bylaws concerning the organization and operation of the LCY, it is to be guaranteed that the Serbian LC operate as a unified entity with respect to organization, political ideology and action. This is the main condition for the normalization and advancement of relations in SR Serbia. That unity must be built on the LCY Program and its policy, on the principle of democratic centralism, for which the greatest responsibility is borne by the Serbian LC Central Committee and the provincial committees of the LC, by their members and executive bodies, especially mindful of the fact that the Vojvodina LC and Kosovo LC are independent organizations within the LCY and constituent parts of the Serbian LC. It is in this direction that the political-ideological prerequisites have to be created for the unified action of party members in elaborating and carrying out the policy of the LCY in the development of the production relation of self-management, the ruling position of the working class, the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, and the pursuit of other common interests in the SFRY and SR Serbia, and on that basis the prerequisites as well for

realization of the constitutional concept of the SFRY, SR Serbia and the SAP's. Since party members ought to be that portion of the working class and society which best understands the conditions, course and general results of our socialist revolution and is out in front in that respect, it is natural to demand that in the Serbian LC they achieve a higher degree of unity than that which otherwise exists in society, whose formal framework is set up by the constitution, respecting that framework and taking it as the point of departure. This communist approach will make it possible for the party members of Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina to open up prospects as the leading ideological force for realization of the interests of the working class and the working people, and in mutual relations, proceeding on that basis, to overcome the distrust and suspicion that exists that the approach taken from the republic is often based on centralistic positions, and that the approach taken from the provinces is based on separatistic positions when it comes to resolving the outstanding problems in SR Serbia. The resolution of those relations would also contribute greatly to strengthening the political-ideological unity of the LCY as a whole.

It would also contribute greatly to overcoming the present situation to consistently stand apart from the extremist theses which have cropped up in discussions concerning the Bylaws of the LCY and the Serbian LC and according to which on the one hand the LC's of the provinces should express themselves solely through the Serbian LC and on the other that they should operate exclusively as independent organizations in the LCY without simultaneous responsibility in the Serbian LC. The theses about this kind of independence of the LC organizations of the provinces on which the Serbian LC and its Central Committee have no influence whatsoever is just as unacceptable as the thesis that application of the principle of democratic centralism in the Serbian LC jeopardizes the equal position, independence and responsibility of the provincial organizations of the LC within the LCY as set forth in the bylaws, thereby placing them in the position of opstina or regional organizations. Nor in its structure and relations can the Serbian LC be identical to the LC's of the other republics, just as the LC's of the provinces cannot be equated with the LC's of the republics and operate exclusively as independent and equal organizations of the LCY on which the Serbian LC and its Central Committee have no influence. In all relations built up and accomplished in the Serbian LC those specific attributes should be honored, and they should be taken as the point of departure.

Democratic centralism signifies first of all the right and responsibility of the Serbian LC to participate vigorously in building the policy of the LCY, to elaborate that policy and bear joint and individual responsibility for its consistent and effective implementation. That is the same right and responsibility which the LC organizations of the provinces have as well, but it is their right and obligation as parts of the LCY and as constituent parts of the Serbian LC to participate in the creation and conduct of the policy of the LCY and the Serbian LC, and they are responsible for its implementation in the province, Serbia and Yugoslavia on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism. This is the foundation for achieving the unity of the Serbian LC with respect to political ideology, action and organization, without which the policy of the LCY can neither be elaborated nor implemented in the Serbian



LC. The differences in views between the authorities of the LC's of the provinces and the authorities of the Serbian LC, which have arisen with respect to individual issues, may not be the reason for the passivity or a justification for differing behavior in action. It is the obligation of those authorities, above all of the Serbian LC Central Committee, as the supreme body of the Serbian LC, to debate and resolve the disputes in good time, consistent with the principle of democratic centralism, in a thoroughly democratic way, within the limits of the Serbian LC. If in the implementation of certain conclusions and views of the LCY Central Committee in which the unified policy of the LCY and unity in action of all the parts of the LCY are expressed there should be essential political differences between the Serbian LC Central Committee and the provincial LC committee, which cannot be overcome within the Serbian LC, the Serbian LC Central Committee or provincial committee shall bring the problem before the LCY Central Committee, or the LCY Central Committee shall for its part demand discussion within the bodies of the LCY.

It is decisive to implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in the Serbian LC as well as throughout the LCY to develop the broadest democratic discussion, freedom, initiative and creative and responsible participation on an equal footing of all members, organizations and official bodies of the LC in the making of policy. The complexity of the totality of relations in the Serbian LC makes it imperative that in the entire process of formulating and implementing the policy of the Serbian LC the organizations and official bodies of the LC's in the provinces make a vigorous, responsible and comprehensive contribution, for which the Serbian LC Central Committee is specifically responsible. This kind of democratic spirit in the LC is an achievement of our revolution and a condition for our overall socialist self-management development. Any other approach would take the LC back to the superseded positions of the centralistic organization with the prerogatives of power or to the kind of separatism that leads to an actual shattering of the Serbian LC and thereby of the LCY as well.

Consistent application of the broadest democratic content of relations in the making of policy is a condition for making conditions throughout the LCY, and indeed both in the Serbian LC and the LC's of the SAP's as well. Once the democratic discussion has been held, and after all the necessary consultations and clarifications, decisionmaking in the bodies of the Serbian LC may not be made conditional upon the mandatory consent of the bodies of the LC of the province or by a negation of the method of majority decisionmaking, since that kind of approach is not in keeping with the basic principles governing operation of the LC. The firmest unity must be displayed in implementing, elaborating and concretization of decisions made in this way in the bodies of the Serbian LC, consistent with LCY policy. This is an obligation for every party member, including the party member who has held the opposite opinion, and, of course, this also applies to all the leadership bodies of the LC. Any contrary behavior leads to the formation of cliques and factions and to a shattering of the unity of the LC's of the provinces, the Serbian LC and the LCY. The principle of democratic centralism, consistent with the LCY Bylaws and the Bylaws of the Serbian LC, must be consistently applied in the Serbian LC even in this regard. It is most essential to carry out in practice the basic principle that the entire membership of the Serbian LC, including the organizations

and bodies of the LC's of the provinces, shall participate in the formation of policy and views, but also that it is the right and responsibility of the Serbian LC Central Committee to see that the policy set forth in that way is carried out, in which it shall have the commitment and responsibility of the Provincial Committees of the Kosovo and Vojvodina LC's.

All of this requires far greater presence of self-criticism, readiness and responsibility for a communistic dialogue in keeping with the standards set forth in the bylaws and the best revolutionary tradition of our party, through which comradeship, mutual trust and cooperation shall be reestablished. That kind of approach and the creation of that kind of atmosphere must without delay put an end to the occurrences there have been of mutual distrust, polemics regardless of principle, an absence of self-criticism and other forms of unacceptable behavior in the bodies of the Serbian LC and the LC's of the provinces. Otherwise the participation and responsibility of party members in Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina for making and carrying out the uniform policy of the LCY cannot be achieved.

It is on these principles and the principles of the LCY Program and Bylaws that relations in the Serbian LC are to be further advanced, developed and realized. In this connection the statutory status, rights and responsibilities of the LC's of the provinces are an expression and essential factor in democratizing relations in the LCY and the Serbian LC and a significant factor for strengthening their unity and cohesion. Through their responsible activity within the LCY and in the Serbian LC, the LC's of the provinces make their creative contribution to those processes.

As part of discussions concerning amendments and supplements of the LC Bylaws, the question of whether and in what ways the Bylaws of the Kosovo LC, the Vojvodina LC, the Serbian LC and the LCY should define more precisely relations in the Serbian LC should be discussed in the period up to the congress in view of the need to achieve greater unity in the Serbian LC and at the same time respecting the specific nature of these relations.

It should be borne in mind in this connection that the standards embodied in the bylaws cannot in and of themselves work out the disrupted relations and guarantee unity in the Serbian LC unless the LC itself is able to develop those relations and solve the problems that have arisen through everyday political action.

10

It is essential to solving all these problems concerning relations in the Serbian LC to organize a unified political-ideological action aimed at thoroughly clarifying all the outstanding political-ideological issues. Party members must vigorously oppose various unacceptable antisocialist and antiself-management conceptions and patterns of practice from revolutionary Marxist positions and from the positions of the policy of the LCY. The League of Communists must resolutely combat every one-sided interpretation of the existing constitutional principles which favor separatistic tendencies as well as every view which from centralistic positions calls for revision of our constitution,



since both those tendencies are equally dangerous to our society and opposite from the policy of the LCY and the Serbian LC. Our working people should be given clear and comprehensible answers as to what these conceptions and demands and practical forms of behavior mean in political terms and what kind of social message they carry.

Public scrutiny of the work of bodies of the LC is their essential obligation, especially following the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, which strongly affirmed that method. It is also in that context that all the outstanding issues concerning relations in SR Serbia must be discussed and resolved through the regular and public proceedings of all bodies and organizations in the political system. But it is a great responsibility of those bodies, especially today in view of the extreme complexity of socioeconomic and political life, what kind of views are taken to the public to initiate public discussions and how this is done. The bodies of the Serbian LC, the Kosovo LC and the Vojvodina LC bear full responsibility for the proper content of those discussions on solving the unresolved problems in relations in SR Serbia, for a resolute political-ideological differentiation from those who hold nationalistic views, whether they be separatistic or centralistic, as well as those holding bourgeois-liberalistic and dogmatic conceptions. In all of this particular consideration should be paid to the need to create greater political-ideological unity in the activity of all the socialist forces, political organizations and government bodies against the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo and in society at large. The political-ideological differentiation in the LC and public activity should be a means of attaining and consolidating that kind of unity.

From this standpoint it is indispensable to develop a supply of comprehensive, objective and critical information, along with devising firm criteria concerning responsibility for what is said in public in the League of Communists and in all other public offices, including the media and persons holding responsible positions in the media. The presentation of unacceptable political-ideological views concerning certain complicated problems in public does not contribute to democratization and public scrutiny of the proceedings of bodies of the LC, which should be aimed at establishing its unity and equipping it to resolve the urgent social issues, but on the contrary it worsens the climate in the LC, in the working class and in society. However, that attitude toward the public scrutiny of proceedings cannot by any means signify confining party discussions to forums, which turns into endless internal polemics which only put off the solutions, and this is without responsibility to the rank and file of the LC and to the working class.

11

In keeping with the conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee and these views it is indispensable to enhance the responsibility and activity of the Serbian LC Central Committee and provincial LC committees in overcoming the situation that has come about in the Serbian LC and in achieving constitutional relations in SR Serbia. To that end it is indispensable that a unified political-ideological program of action for future activity be drawn up in the Serbian LC.

The Serbian LC and LC's of the SAP's must on the basis of those unified political-ideological views stimulate and organize the socialist action of the broadest working masses and operate in a much more organized way within the framework of the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions and other sociopolitical and public organizations and through such action build the political-ideological unity of the progressive social forces. The LC must figure as the leading ideological force in solving the problems that have arisen, as a factor of cohesion and the possessor of consciousness of the present and long-term interests of the working class, all the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the SAP's, SR Serbia and in Yugoslavia. That kind of political action should guarantee much greater effectiveness of self-management decisionmaking in associated labor and in the delegate system.

The Serbian LC Central Committee and the provincial LC committees are responsible for building a unity of thought and action in their ranks concerning all these issues instead of separately forming two or three differing views on each problem, which lead to confrontation and division. The actions and the answers to resolving the outstanding problem must create without delay a more favorable climate for the conferences of the LC's of the provinces, for the Congress of the Serbian LC and the LCY Congress, since it is not possible to enter into preparations for the congresses without that kind of situation and with such complex issues outstanding. Party members and bodies of the Serbian LC and the LC's of the provinces must come forward with unified assessments and a platform for emerging from the crisis in development of relations in SR Serbia and for all the other burning problems of society before their own conferences of the LC's and the congresses. All forces in the Serbian LC must be unified during preparations for the congresses on that kind of platform. The bodies of the LCY and also the bodies and all party members in the other republics must greatly contribute to that kind of effort on the part of the Serbian LC and the LC's of the provinces in order to prevent the present disunity and division of the leadership from causing disunity and division in the ranks of the membership of the LC and the working class. It is especially important to heighten the fight now against nationalism, particularism and opportunism in the League of Communists on that basis.

12

An organized and strong united action on the part of the LC will set in motion all the progressive forces of the LC of Serbia, SAP Vojvodina and Kosovo, bodies of self-management and self-managing organizations so that they immediately begin to resolve all the issues concerning relations in SR Serbia which have not been in dispute, that is, for which clear commitments in the LC and in society have already been set forth. As for those problems which have not been sufficiently clarified, it is necessary to initiate and direct democratic discussion in sociopolitical organizations and other institutions of the sociopolitical system, wherein the LC and other subjective forces bear responsibility for the unified approach on the basis of clear ideological and constitutional commitments and for creative commitment in finding solutions.

It is especially important to make an organized effort in the LC to overcome more rapidly differences among party members on political-ideological issues,

such as: interpretation of the constitutional nature of duality in the status of the provinces, the way they came about and the basis of their institutional structure, the historical, ethnic and social conditionalities of their existence and development within SR Serbia, and why they are not and cannot be state communities as well, and why their autonomy based on the SFRY Constitution and the Constitutions of SR Serbia [original reads "Serbian LC"] and SAP's must not and cannot be disputed, and then interpretation of the foundations, content and character of unity in SR Serbia, of centralistic and unitaristic tendencies, as well as of the tendencies toward disintegration and federalization of SR Serbia, the patterning of relations in the Federation on relations in SR Serbia, and also interpretation of the status of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in SR Serbia and the SFRY; interpretation of the class nature and role of the state in pursuing common interests and national sovereignty. Achievement of political-ideological unity would be much easier if precisely those political-ideological issues which have always been in dispute were thoroughly cleared up on the basis of the results achieved in the action to date of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the provincial committees of the LC.

In this action the further commitment and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee are also indispensable; there has to be patience, but also persistence and responsibility, since these problems cannot be overcome without an extremely responsible ideological and political effort, which should commit and unify personnel in the Serbian LC on the same task, should mobilize in the broadest terms the working class and all the working people in the democratic front of the Socialist Alliance, and should influence their consciousness and commitments. The situation in SR Serbia, as indeed in society as a whole, does not depend on the principles declared, but above all on the real balance of social forces and on the state of consciousness and action of the leading forces of society, led by the working class and the LCY.

13

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee requires of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee that together with the Presidia of the Provincial Committees of the Vojvodina LC and Kosovo LC it undertake without delay all the necessary activities in order to elaborate and set forth the tasks for political-ideological action in the Serbian LC on the basis of these views. It is indispensable to establish a much higher degree of unity of the Serbian LC, the leadership of the Serbian LC and the leadership of the LC's of the provinces and of their members, which is a first and necessary condition for successfully resolving the problems which have accumulated concerning relations in SR Serbia, by carrying out specific programs of measures and through action.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee especially stresses the responsibility of all three bodies of leaders for the effective and successful political-ideological action to carry out these views. Any deviation, passivity or lack of devotion to principle in carrying them out would signify disruption of the unity of the LCY and democratic centralism, which is subject to political-ideological measures in keeping with the standards contained in the LCY Bylaws.

The Presidium will monitor and if necessary undertake to discuss the implementation of these views so that in keeping with its own responsibility it will offer a further contribution to their realization, and it shall so inform the LCY Central Committee. The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, consistent with its own role, shall also undertake measures in order to carry out these political-ideological views through the activity of the competent authorities and organizations in the other republics and in the Federation.

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YUGOSLAVIA

## IMPLICATIONS OF SUCCESSFUL HARVEST EXAMINED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 85 pp 10-11

[Unsigned commentary: "Lessons of the Harvest"]

[Text] Now that we have all breathed a sigh of relief over the question of whether we will have enough of our own grain, we seem not to have analyzed with sufficient clarity and comprehensiveness the scope of this new working triumph, which is truly out of the ordinary. Analysis on this point can offer significant practical, economic, ideological, political, and even theoretical conclusions.

Superficial and onesided analysts may ask: What is there to conclude? We have good land, machinery, experienced peasants. Wheat has been grown here for centuries, so why should it be a problem to grow wheat today in the necessary amount? If price policy were more rational and more stable, they go on, we could even export wheat! The idealists add: Enough to feed half of Europe!

The first question touches on the very foundations of the socialist system. We know that the basic theoretical question, after the triumph of socialism in Russia, was linked with the developmental problems of industry and agriculture. Following prolonged, tiring, multiyear theoretical, ideological, and political discussions, the commitment was made to press industrialization. No compromises were made in this respect. Such theoretical minds and revolutionaries as Preobrazhenskiy, Kondratec, Bukharin, and Trotskiy paid with their lives for certain dilemmas in this field.

In the meantime, not one socialist country has officially disputed or renounced the basic commitments involved in this choice. The logical consequence of this choice has been a lag in agriculture and gradually increasing imports of food, including wheat, of course. Almost all the socialist countries import wheat. They advocate raising labor productivity in agriculture but do not radically alter the established ratios in the development of industry and agriculture. Let us assume that we--constantly a focus of interest for both blocs because of our nonbloc, nonaligned policy and unique development of socialism--were to start carrying out a normal agrarian policy and reach the point, for example, where we export increasing amounts of food. We would immediately be suspected, for the nth time, of deviating from a socialist course of development. In our present-day economic situation, we probably do not need such suspicions.

Economic and agrarian policies are easy to carry out when prices are used to resolve production problems. If wheat prices are raised, no sweat--there is even wheat for export. If need be, prices are lowered--so wheat is imported. However, it takes real skill to conduct agrarian policy in such a way that no one knows until the last minute whether there will be enough wheat or not. Moreover, prices are set when they no longer mean anything to the majority of interested parties, especially peasants choosing which crop to plant. Under such circumstances, how to provide just the right amount of wheat? Therein lies all the virtuosity, the exceptional creative effort of those responsible for agrarian policy: you do a blackmailing job, a bit with fertilizer, a bit with fuel, a bit with policemen on the bridges at the borders between republics and provinces, and if need be you use party rollcalls for officials of farm combines, regional associations, and opstinas--and you get as much wheat as you need, regardless of price, weather conditions, and even the overall success of the harvest.

Secondly, by means of wheat we test the social position and political attitude of the "wide" strata of the population. To be specific, bread (i.e., wheat) is the backbone of our nutrition, the bulwark of the living standard of the majority of the population. By advocating low bread prices, we are indirectly advocating a low living standard for the population, because price disparities on basic agricultural products result in inefficient industrial production. The consequences of stubbornly accumulated inefficiencies are augmented with the passing years. The high price of these consequences can be paid for only by a decline in the living standard of all strata of the population. If the peasants and all other processors down the line tolerantly accept the consequences of inefficiency deriving from the existing wheat price, and if the rest of the population is also tolerantly satisfied with cheap bread being the bulwark of its living standard (renouncing automobile driving, various "luxury" habits, and even the habit of buying "superfluous" clothing and footwear before existing clothing and footwear are worn out), then the creators of economic policy and other aspects of policy can arrive at significant developmental and economic conclusions. Such conclusions will be all the more significant in that precise information does not exist concerning the actual economic and social position of the various strata of the population.

For example, the most responsible comrades might conclude as follows, on the basis of the population's tolerant attitude toward bread: no need to hurry about accomplishing tasks under the long-term stabilization program; we can wait another year or so to review the possible consequences of implementing the program for developing this or that opstina or region; perhaps (why not if need be?) we could begin working in detail on a new stabilization program.

Naturally, many more proofs about the significance of another successful harvest could be presented. What we have mentioned so far is sufficient to point up excessive simplification in the description of the actual, long-term meanings and scope of the latest harvest.